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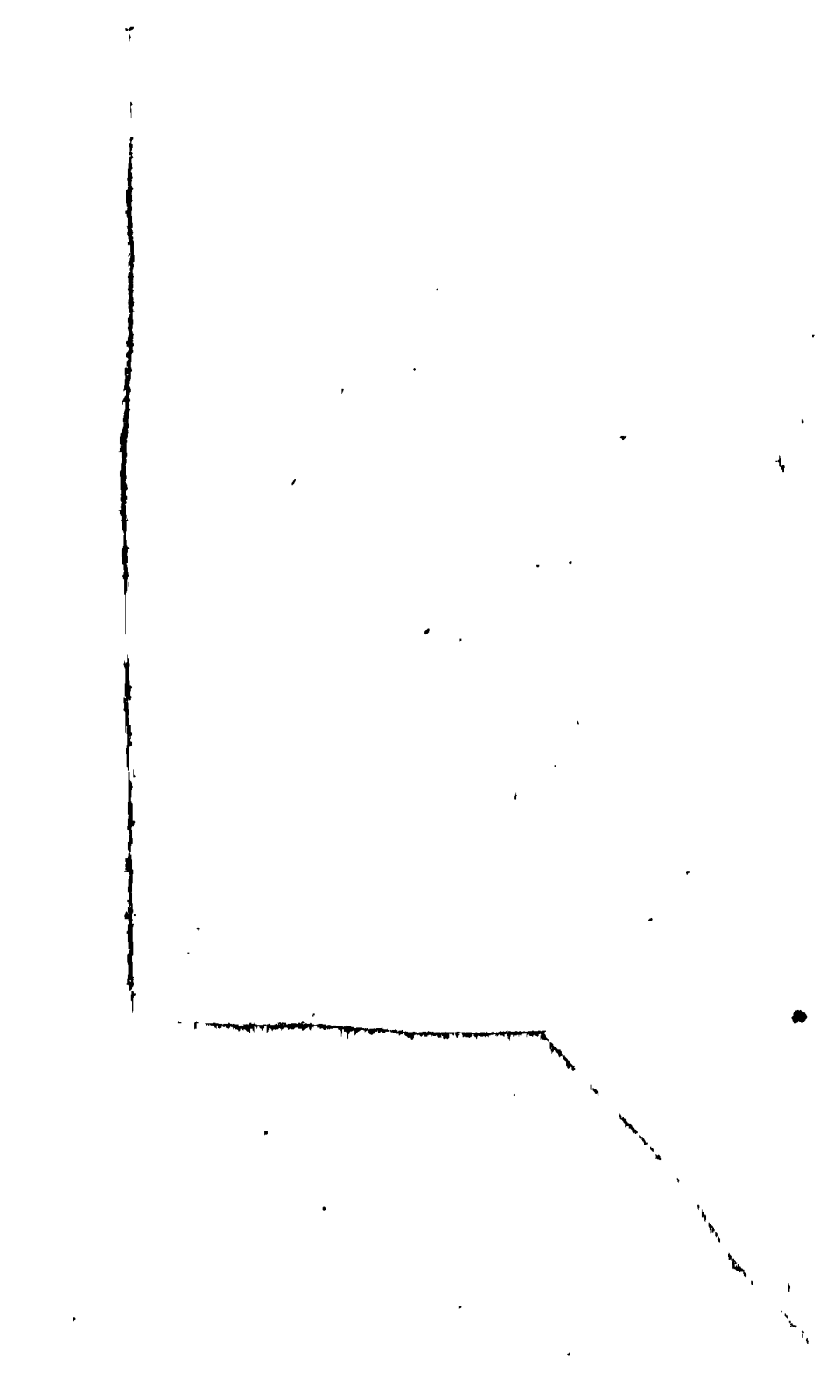

HISTORY OF GREECE

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE END OF THE PERSIAN WAR

Translated from the German

OF

PROFESSOR MAX DUNCKER

VOL. II.

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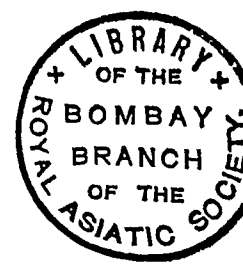
BY

SARAH FRANCES ALLEYNE

AND

EVELYN ABBOTT



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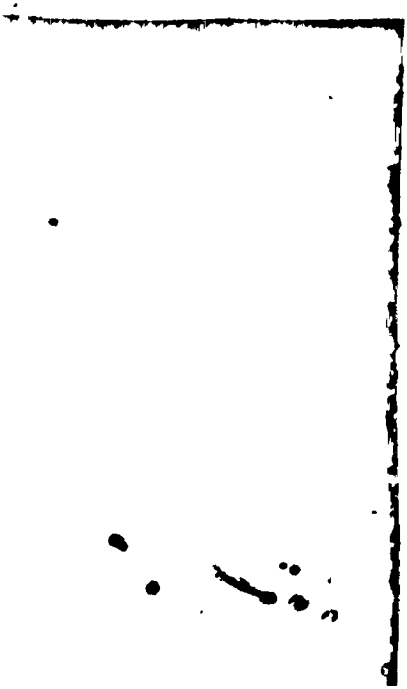
PREFACE.

By far the largest portion of this volume was translated by the late Miss Alleyne, and I have done no more than make the corrections which were necessary in carrying her translation through the press. My own work begins on page 353. The references have been verified throughout, with a few exceptions. The index has been compiled by my friend Mr. Merk, Scholar of Balliol College.

I have to thank Mr. Andrew Lang for his kindness in reading over a large part of the proof-sheets.

EVELYN ABBOTT.



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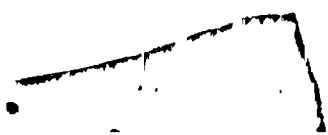

BOOK III.

ARISTOCRACIES.

COLONISATION.

CHAPTER I.

THE RISE OF THE NOBILITY.

THE movement emanating from the Northern tribes had thrown the most fruitful districts of the eastern coast of the peninsula, and the best lands of the Peloponnesus, from Mount Olympus to Cape Malea, into the hands of new inhabitants or new masters. The ancient commonwealths established at Orchomenus and Mycenæ, on the Eurotas and at Pylus, with their whole resources and artistic development, had fallen. In the North the Thessalians had united the basin of the Peneus under their rule; the Arnæans had distributed the hills and depressions around the lakes of Bœotia among their communities; the princes of Mycenæ had been replaced by the new lords of Argos in the supreme power; and in the upper valley of the Eurotas another of these new commonwealths had attained a fixed constitution, which promised much for the future. Nor was it in the peninsula alone that a new life had arisen in the place of the ancient civilisation. Far beyond its limits was felt the impulse which had first begun with the movement of the Thessalians towards the East; the Hellenic domain had been extended to the farther shore of the Ægean; the Hellenes now dwelt on both sides of that sea, as well as in the adjacent islands. This extension had at once proved itself in the highest

degree favourable to their development; they learned new weights and measures, and the art of writing, in Crete and on the coasts of Asia Minor; the Achæan and Ionian settlers, in their conflicts about the lands which they colonised, gave to the minstrelsy of the Greeks—which hitherto had consisted in sacrificial hymns and invocations—new subjects and new forms, while mental life received an energetic stimulus, which, at first, left the cantons of the ancient peninsula far behind. The important changes of possession in the settlement of the peninsula, caused by the disturbances of the emigrations,—the wide expansion which had brought the islands of the Ægean Sea and the west coast of Asia Minor into the hands of the Hellenes,—had not been effected by the rapid conquests of large invading hordes. The tribes which had remained conquerors in peninsular Greece had not formed great armies; nor had the nature of the country admitted of decisive victories. Mountain chains and narrow passes had co-operated in its defence. The Thessalians, Arnæans, Ætolians, and Dorians had been led forth in separate hosts; their conflicts had been of a protracted description, and their conquests had been circumscribed by the nature of the country. In a similar manner the occupation of the islands and the seizure of the opposite coasts had been accomplished in successive migrations by isolated bands, whose conquests had not proceeded beyond the possession of the islands (on the larger of which more than one commonwealth had found a place) and territories of greater or lesser extent on the coast. Life in the peninsula had consequently maintained its cantonal individual character, and the same stamp was reproduced in the new domains. As the offensive and defensive battles

had been fought out in the peninsula independently, in each particular canton, so in the islands and on the coast of Asia each of the emigrant hosts had won its territory by its own power. In the lands thus independently conquered, here as there, each one of the new commonwealths had to solve for itself the problem of a constitution, and provide new arrangements of life.

Monarchy had been in existence from ancient times among the Hellenes. The best warriors had been chosen to fill the place of the heads of the families, when the transition to the settled cultivation of the soil in the more fertile cantons of the east coast stimulated the shepherds of the mountains to incursions, and when, after the establishment of the Phœnicians on the eastern shores of Hellas, it became necessary to expel these strangers. We have seen that the ancient princes, who were buried before the Gate of Lions in Mycenæ—the predecessors of the Pelopidæ—were already in possession of considerable wealth. There had subsequently been long and severe wars in defence of lands, property, and freedom. The necessity for a closer combination of forces for offensive and defensive warfare must have made the monarchy stronger, more respected, and more despotic, whether it had come down in an hereditary manner from the times before the emigrations, or had arisen in consequence of the disturbances which the emigrations occasioned. The alleged descent of the princely families of the Doric states, and of the Thessalians, from Heracles, points to the rise of those families in the period of the conquests; the emigrant Ætolians, Achæans, and Ionians are most distinctly asserted by tradition to have been conducted to their new abodes by the descendants of ancient royal houses from Ætolia, Argos, and Pylus.

If the authority of the monarchy had increased in times of war, it was otherwise when the conquests and settlements had been accomplished, and the new states had been consolidated. We can plainly see that the stormy billows of the warlike period were gradually calmed in the first half of the eighth century. At this period the Thessalians had already conquered the whole of the basin of the Peneus; they had extended their dominion over the valley of the Spercheus, but had afterwards entered into friendly relations with the ancient tribes of these regions. The Eleans had become masters of the lower valley of the Alpheus; the Minyæ had established themselves in Triphylia; the Lacedæmonians had completed the conquest of the valley of the Eurotas. Previous to the migrations there were in the Greek cantons some families whose possessions in herds and lands allowed them to live for hunting, arms, plundering expeditions, and private feuds; they stood next the prince in battle, assisted him in council and in the administration of justice. There were others, to which belonged the hereditary knowledge of the manner of offering sacrifices to the deities most acceptably; which preserved the hymns that were efficacious in securing the Divine favour, which could interpret the signs of the gods. In the larger cantons, which had grown out of the union of separate communities, as in Attica, families possessing wealth and intelligence had combined to form societies and tribes; by this means they gained the feeling of association—the consciousness of common privileges. In the times of the migrations this organisation was also transferred to the colonies of the Ionians. There grew up a similar arrangement among the Dorian colonies, out of the organisation of the army.

The conquests, colonies, and settlements had considerably augmented the number of the families which were especially devoted to war. In the conquered cantons of the peninsula there had arisen out of the mass of the conquering tribes—*i.e.* the Thessalians, Arnæans, Ætolians, Dorians—a ruling class, which had taken possession of extensive fields and pastures, and had reduced the ancient population (so far as it had not disappeared out of the country) to dependence or servitude; while in the new commonwealths in the islands and on the coasts of Asia the strangers, who had conquered these islands and territories, had in the same way divided the land among themselves and brought the ancient population into subjection. Even in the cantons which had not changed masters the number of the warriors, *i.e.* of the noble families, had increased. In place of the ancient feuds and predatory excursions, a more serious conflict had begun: property, life, and existence had to be defended against the attacks of the conquerors; a greater number of families was required which should be ready for war, or could undertake the protection of the canton, and guard the peasants and herdsmen.

As soon as the wars were over, the descendants of the warriors of the conquering hosts, of the mariners who had immigrated from beyond seas, of the successful defenders of the ancient soil, *i.e.* the ruling classes of the cantons and cities, began to feel themselves more independent in their possessions. They looked back with pride upon their successes, and now that the battles were won, and conquests, settlements, and protection were secured, felt less acutely the necessity of definite leadership and obedience to the will of the prince. This was the case both in the conquered

cantons and in places where the ancient population had continued to maintain itself. No sooner was there a cessation from conquest and from the fear of attack, than the ties of obedience here also were slackened, and the soldiers adopted a more independent attitude to their prince.

But had not all members of the ruling class the same interest in providing that the commonwealth conquered or maintained by their ancestors in common battles—preserved, and to be preserved, through their exertions—should be conducted in accordance with this end? If the prince summoned one or another from their midst to his council or court of justice, had they not all an equal claim to be consulted and summoned? Was it incumbent on them to follow the prince at his command to new conflicts, if they had not previously been consulted and given their consent? With what allies, with what army, would the king fight if they did not join him? Or had he the power and means to force them to do so even against their will? Must not the prince gradually become dependent on the good-will of the wealthy soldiers who composed his army?

Aristotle says: "The kings were spontaneously elected to their high position, because they had shown themselves the first, either by superior intelligence, or in battle, or by their ability to keep the tribe united, or by conquest of the country; their powers were inherited by their successors. Having supreme command in war and over the sacrifices, so far as the latter did not belong to the priests, they also decided judicial questions. Thus in ancient times they ruled over the commonwealth both within and without its boundaries. They were obeyed by willing subjects, and their power was limited to the chief command in

war, the office of judge, and the offering of sacrifices."[1] "The king was elected for the benefits he conferred; he was chosen from among the brave, as the protector of the people, for his exalted virtue, his valiant actions, or other excellences of this kind; worth, descent, or beneficent deeds made the monarch; all who were in a position to advance their state, or who had so advanced it, who had prevented its falling into servitude, had freed it, or founded it, or gained territory for it, attained to the kingly power, the end of which is the good."[2] "And perhaps monarchy formerly prevailed because men of pre-eminent greatness were seldom to be found, or because, on the other hand, the commonwealths were small; when, subsequently, many great men appeared they would obey no longer, but sought for some more common form of government, and set up a constitution."[3] "Monarchy is suited to a people that can bear the dominion of one family pre-eminent for its skill in political leadership; aristocracy belongs to a people capable of bearing the dominion of freedmen who possess peculiar ability for command. If a single individual or a whole family possessed ability excelling all others, then it would be right that this family or this individual should be king and lord of all."[4]

The monarchy in the cantons and cities of Greece had no national significance. A monarchy embracing the whole people had certainly not existed in ancient times when the peninsula had been colonised by the Greeks, nor did it now hold the national forces together. Moreover the Greek people was not in a position which

[1] Aristot. *Pol.* 3, 9, 8; 3, 10, 1 = 1285 *b* 6.
[2] Aristot. *loc. cit.* 5, 8, 2; 5, 6 = 1310 *b* 10.
[3] Aristot. *loc. cit.* 3, 10, 7 = 1286 *b* 8.
[4] Aristot. *loc. cit.* 3, 10, 11, 12 = 1288 *a* 7.

compelled it to defend itself against powerful neighbours. The resources of the cantonal prince were limited; it was not in his power to call out one territory, one district, or perhaps one class, against another. Among the Greeks the ruling classes were not strictly divided into soldiers and priests. The offering of the sacrifices, the preservation of ancient sacrificial hymns, did not exclude the families in possession of such privileges from the military associations, any more than they excluded the king himself, to whom priestly functions specially belonged. Had the princes in the conquered cantons summoned to their aid the occupiers and those attached to the soil—namely, the Periœci, Penestæ, and Gymnesii—against the insubordination of the ruling class, they would thus have destroyed with their own hands the foundations and stability of their states, laid their dominions in ruins, and nullified their conquests. Still less could the princes in the colonies think of turning for aid against the aspiring nobles to the remnant of foreign population in the territories of the cities; the vanquished were even weaker here than in the conquered cantons of the peninsula, and attempts of the kind could only have led, in this case also, to the destruction of the commonwealth. Even in the unconquered cantons of the peninsula peasants and hirelings were powerless to assist the prince against the nobility. Fully employed in obtaining for themselves the bare necessaries of life, as we have seen in Hesiod's poem, their vision did not extend beyond their particular field and village; they were accustomed to look up obediently to the noble families who bore arms, who administered justice to them, and afforded them protection; beside the well-armed and experienced warriors of the ruling class, they

were without weapons, without training, without any confidence in themselves. On the other hand the cantons, the territories of the cities, were very limited in extent. The period of the wars, conquests, and settlements had forced back the population more and more closely to the protecting circle of their walls. Refuge must often have been sought there, and the support of fortresses was necessary in attacking such places as Argos, Corinth, and Amyclæ. To believe oneself equal to the command of such a circumscribed commonwealth as this, so easily measured with the eye, required no extraordinary self-confidence; while, on the other hand, the corporative consciousness, resting on ties of family and race among the ruling class, must have become stronger with time, and the remembrance of deeds done in concert and a common pride in privileged rank and importance no doubt increased the self-reliance of the chiefs in regard to the princes. The Greeks had none of the self-asserting, self-sufficient individuality of the Germans. The Greek nobles did not confront their kings as so many rebellious and haughty units. It was not in accordance with Greek ideas and customs that each noble family should live in an isolated manner on its own estate, surrounded by its retainers, and leading a life agreeable to its own inclination and pleasure. The Greek nobility did not aspire to any separation from the commonwealth, or any influence over the government of it. In their dealings with the king they acted as close communities, pursuing identical interests and aims.

About the middle of the eighth century the ruling class everywhere had the advantage of the princes. Special circumstances had contributed to its supremacy in Sparta half a century earlier. The union of the

two commonwealths with their royal houses, as we have seen, threw the final decision and the highest authority into the hands of the nobility as a body. The monarchy continued to exist, but its power was broken by the higher court of the nobles, and still more by the institution of the two kings. For the very reason that it had been weakened, it continued to exist; but it was no longer a monarchy, it was—as Aristotle says—merely a perpetual generalship of the army.[1] Only when it so happened that both kings were for a season entirely of the same mind, when they ceased to nullify each other, could the monarchy attain a transient importance. In Messenia, soon after the year 750 B.C., the decline of the kingly power was shown by the reference of questions concerning peace and war to the assembly of nobles, and the dispute of the younger royal line with the elder, which occasioned the fall of the state.[2] In Corinth the monarchical rule of the Bacchiadæ, after a quarrel in the royal family in the year 745 B.C., gave place to prytanes, annually chosen, but the right of election to this office rested with the members of the family guild of the Bacchiadæ. In Athens the kingdom of the Melanthidæ was reduced, in 752 B.C., to a ten years' presidency of the commonwealth, to which the nobility had the right of election, from the tribe of the descendants of Melanthus, or rather, from the branch of that house which bore rule in Attica, viz. the Medontidæ. In Thebes the kingdom of the descendants of Opheltas must have fallen at the same time, or soon after;[3] about the year 725 B.C. the aristocratic government of Thebes was

[1] *Polit.* 3, 9, 5 = 1271 *a* 40 [Bekker reads ἀίδιος]. [2] *Infra*, ch. 4.
[3] Concerning the statement of Pausanias, that the monarchy in Thebes ceased with the fall of Xanthus, *vide*, vol. i. p. 482, note 2.

administered by Philolaus, a Corinthian. Of his institutions we hear only that the number of the estates of the nobles might not be diminished; which probably means that sales, gifts, and testamentary disposal of land might not take place; and that he made laws about adoptions—most likely obliging childless nobles to adopt younger sons of other noble families.[1] Even after the loss of the kingly office, however, the Opheltiadæ continued to be the greatest family in Thebes and Bœotia.[2] In Thessaly the ancient royal house, the Aleuadæ, retained in regard to the rest of the Thessalian nobility a certain dynastic position, on account of traditional respect, extensive possessions, numerous dependents, and slaves attached to the soil. In the colonies the course of events was the same. In Miletus the kingdom of the Nelidæ came to an end; after the rebellion of a Nelid, which cost Laodamas, the king, his life, Epimenes settled the new constitution, which had an annually elected prytanis at its head. In Ephesus the Androclidæ retained only certain marks of distinction and sacred rights—the offering of particular sacrifices. In Samos the nobles reigned after King Damoteles had been slain. In Cyme the rule of the descendants of Agamemnon and Orestes gave place to that of the nobility. In Lesbos the Penthilidæ of Mytilene succumbed to conspiracies and deeds of violence, which they had provoked by their own arrogance. In Argos and in some cantons of Arcadia the monarchy main-

[1] Aristot. *Pol.* 2, 9, 6-8 = 1274 *a* 31. The date is determined by the Olympic victory of Diocles in 728 B.C., after which he emigrated with Philolaus to Thebes. What Aristotle further quotes (3, 3, 4 = 1278 *a* 25; 6, 4, 5 = 1321 *a* 29), that no one could be appointed to an office who had not, for ten years at least, withdrawn from commerce, handicrafts, and mercantile transactions, probably belongs to a later date.

[2] Plut. *De ser. num. vind.* 13.

tained itself longer; at Phocæa and Thera it continued until a new democratic rule took the place of the old aristocratic monarchy. In Argos, in the second half of the eighth century, the monarchy even gained a fresh though transient lustre; and the double monarchy in Sparta at the close of this century was able to acquire a fresh accession of strength for its authority. In the other cantons the dispossessed royal families probably lived on in the midst of the nobles, regarded with respect, and here and there exercising their sacerdotal functions; even the name of king was in most instances retained, being either transferred to those officials of the nobility who now stood in turns at the head of the government, as in Cyme, or else to one of the foremost functionaries who had to attend to the sacrifices which had formerly been offered by the king on behalf of the commonwealth. The Greeks would have considered that they were depriving the state of the favour of the gods if the customary sacrifices had been discontinued, and the sacred functions of the king had not been performed, at any rate, by a person representing him.

Nor did the privileges of the nobility increase only from above, through the transference of the government to their ranks; in the other direction, also, in regard to the people and the peasants, their bearing became harsher and more tyrannical. This was chiefly the case in the conquered cantons, where the ruling class looked down upon the vanquished with the pride of conquerors, where two nationalities confronted each other with hostility, and where the conquered, being numerically much stronger than the conquerors, had to be kept in strict subjection. Here the ruling class pursued its own course, declined to mingle its blood

with the inferior blood of the inhabitants, and took wives solely from its own ranks. But even in the unconquered cantons the nobles, when once they had got the helm of government into their hands, grew more arrogant in their behaviour towards the peasants; and as soon as they began to keep the interest and prosperity of their class exclusively before their eyes, their rule necessarily became oppressive.

CHAPTER II.

PHIDON OF ARGOS.

Of the commonwealths founded by the Ætolians and Dorians in the Peloponnesus, Argos had become the most powerful and important. Its territory embraced the north-east of the Peloponnesus and the whole of the eastern coast as far as Cape Malea. Its naval power rested on the support of the islands of Ægina and Cythera. Colonists from Argos had founded Cnossus in Crete; the cities of Ialysus, Lindus, and Camirus in Rhodes; Cnidus and Iasus on the south-west coast of Asia Minor. Dorians from Epidaurus had colonised the island of Cos; Dorians and Ionians, *i.e.* conquerors and conquered, from Trœzen had built Halicarnassus. Moreover the kings of Argos stood at the head of a federation which included the cities supposed to have been founded by Argos on the north and south-east coasts of the Peloponnesus—namely, Sicyon, Epidaurus, Trœzen, Ægina, Prasiæ, Epidaurus-Limera, and Bœæ, besides Phlius and Cleonæ. Common sacrifices, which were offered to Apollo Pythæus on the Larissa of Argos, kept this federation together. It devolved upon the king of Argos, who was at its head, to maintain peace among the members and a respect for the sacred law. It lay within his power to punish any member of the league who offended either by attacking a confederate city or by rendering assistance

to any state for such an object.[1] A still more important privilege obliged the members of the confederacy to furnish reinforcements in war to the kings of Argos.[2] The name of the tutelary deity of the league, Apollo Pythæus, shows that it was first established when the oracle at Pytho had already attained celebrity in the Peloponnesus—that is, not much before the end of the ninth century; it cannot have been founded many years later, as there are tolerably clear indications of a renewal of the league about the middle of the eighth century.

The founders of the state of Argos, Temenus and Cisus, were succeeded on the throne by Medon, Thestius, Merops, and Aristodamidas. Phidon, the son of Aristodamidas, is said to have begun his reign about the year 770 B.C.[3] Herodotus calls him the most arbitrary of all the tyrants of Hellas; and Aristotle says that he changed the existing monarchy into a tyranny.[4] The account of Ephorus is as follows:—"Phidon found the 'inheritance of Temenus' divided into several parts. These he re-united, and became more powerful than any other ruler of his time. Moreover he attacked the states which Heracles had once conquered, and thought himself entitled to hold the competitive contests instituted by Heracles, especially those at Olympia. He appeared there with an army,

[1] Herod. 6, 92; Pausan. 4, 5, 2; Strabo, pp. 372, 375, 376.

[2] Pausan. 2, 30, 10; 1, 29, 7; Thucyd. 5, 67; Diodor. 11, 65; Strabo, p. 377.

[3] Caranus, the brother of Phidon, according to Eusebius, went northwards before the first Olympiad (*Chron.* 1, 227 Sch.); cf. Diodor. ap. Syncell. p. 499 Bonn. Concerning the connection of Caranus with Phidon, and of the Orestian Argos with the Argos on the Inachus, *vide infra*, Book 5, ch. 11. As we can fix the date of Perdiccas by means of his successors, about the year 700 B.C., Phidon and Caranus must be two generations before him.

[4] Herod. 6, 127; Aristot. *Pol.* 5, 8, 4 = 1310 *b* 26.

and the Eleans were unable to withstand him,[1] as were also the rest, for they were overwhelmed by the power of Phidon, who now conducted the Olympic festival and the games."[2]

From another source we learn that Phidon desired to gain for his state dominion over the Peloponnesus, and to make it the leader of all the other states. He ordered the Corinthians to send him a thousand of their strongest and bravest youths. His plan was to destroy these youths, that he might the more easily take possession of Corinth when it had been thus weakened; for he regarded Corinth as a position which commanded the whole Peloponnesus. He imparted his design to some confidants, of whom Abron was one. The Corinthians sent the thousand youths under the command of Dexander, who was the guest of Abron. Abron betrayed to him the intentions of Phidon, so that the Corinthians were able to escape to Corinth before the time fixed for their destruction.[3] Phidon made diligent search for the traitor, and Abron fled to Corinth. Herodotus likewise asserts that Phidon drove away the umpires of the Eleans, and himself conducted the festival at Olympia; and Pausanias tells us that "the Pisatæ summoned the most despotic of all the tyrants of Hellas, and conducted the games and sacrifices of the eighth Olympiad in concert with Phidon." The eighth Olympic festival took place in the year 748

[1] The reason given by Ephorus, "that they had no weapons owing to the peace," belongs to the well-known story of later times about the "peace" of the Eleans, which was evolved from the ἐκεχειρία. We find it first in Ephorus; Busolt, *Lakedæm.* p. 189 ff.

[2] Ephor. *Frag.* 115 M.

[3] Plut. *Amat. narr.* 2, καὶ οὕτως οἱ μὲν Φλιάσιοι εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον ἐσώθησαν, which contradicts the foregoing, unless Plutarch wrote ἐκ Φλιασίων εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον.

B.C. Anticles the Messenian was conqueror in the foot-race.[1]

These fragments of tradition concerning the deeds of King Phidon, meagre as they are, suffice to show that no other ruler in the whole line of the kings of Argos was his equal in ability and force, and that under him the state rose to the highest degree of power which it ever attained. When King Alcamenes of Sparta was attacking the Heleans about the year 770 B.C., the Argives assisted the Heleans, so we read in Pausanias; and among the states once conquered by Heracles, and claimed, as Ephorus tells us, by Phidon, was the city of Sparta (vol. i. p. 201). With the advance of the Spartans towards Amyclæ, and thence to the sea, began the migrations of the Achæans and Minyæ from Mount Taygetus, Mount Tænarum, and Helos to

[1] Pausan. 6, 22, 2. Herod. (6, 127) is in error when he calls the suitor of the daughter of Clisthenes, Leocedes, son of the tyrant Phidon, "who himself conducted the Olympic games, and gave weights and measures to the Peloponnesians." The error may be his own, or it may have originated with the poetic source from which Herodotus borrowed the story of the suitors of Agariste; and it no doubt arose from the name of Phidon, father of Leocedes, having suggested the most famous personage of that name in Argos. The mention of the eighth Olympiad in Pausanias leaves no doubt as to the date of Phidon. As the Eleans were again conducting the Olympic festival at the ninth Olympiad, Phidon must have reigned between 775 and 745 B.C. The era of Syracuse confirms this date. Archias, the founder of Syracuse (in the year 734 B.C.) loves the grandson of Abron, who has betrayed the designs of Phidon to Dexander; the attempt upon Corinth is, in Plutarch (*loc. cit.*), the first undertaking of Phidon. And who can seriously adopt the argument that the coins of Phidon belong to the end of the seventh century—that is, that they were struck just before the time of Solon? The Parian marble, as well as the Macedonian list of kings, makes Phidon the eleventh after Heracles, and the seventh after Temenus (cf. vol. i. p. 138, note 2). The Parian marble places Phidon in the year 895 B.C., contemporary with King Pherecles of Athens (any other restoration is scarcely possible). The adoption of this very ancient date for Phidon results from placing the fall of Ilium in 1209 B.C., the beginning of Melanthus' reign in 1149 B.C., and the migration of Neleus in 1077 B.C. (cf. vol. i. p. 269). [Marm. Par. *Ep.* 30.]

Melos, Thera, and Crete. Argos had good reason to fear that the Spartans, when they had conquered the country as far as the mouth of the Eurotas, might cut off the southern promontory of the peninsula of Mount Parnon, with the southern Epidaurus and Bœæ; and it was obvious that in that case the possession of the coast to the east of Mount Parnon would be difficult to maintain. Argos had therefore cogent grounds for encouraging the resistance of the Achæans in their last strongholds. We may well suppose that it was King Phidon who sent them aid for this purpose.[1] Helos, however, fell. The nearest refuge for the fugitives was the island of Cythera, which belonged to the kingdom of Argos. From this island they probably set out upon their new migrations, and it is very possible that Melos and Thera placed themselves under the supremacy of the king of Argos in order to secure his protection. In these colonies, as in other particulars, the Spartan legend substitutes Sparta for Argos. (vol. i. p. 420).

The predominant power of Phidon in the Peloponnesus is unmistakably evident in the indications of the tradition. He is said to have brought the states founded by Argos, or the Doric states in alliance with Argos, into a position of more absolute dependence. Nor did he confine himself to the confederate cities, ostensibly founded by Argos. That he reduced Corinth to subjection is shown in the narrative, which represents that city as having sent him a thousand warriors. At Corinth ruled the posterity of Aletes, who had con-

[1] King Alcamenes of Sparta is said to have commenced the attack on Messenia. The beginning of this war was later, in the year 735 B.C., as will be shown below. But it still follows from that statement that Alcamenes and Phidon were contemporaries.

quered the city for the Dorians. The fourth in descent from Aletes was King Bacchis, who was succeeded by Eudemus, and Eudemus by Aristomedes. Aristomedes, we are told by Diodorus, left a son named Telestes in his minority, from whom his uncle and guardian, Agemon, brother of Aristomedes, took the kingdom, and left it after his death to his own son Alexander. Telestes slew Alexander, and regained the kingdom that had been taken from him. It is very possible that Telestes, in order to maintain himself against his cousins, who were his rivals in the royal house, sought help from Argos, and became dependent on Phidon. Sicyon belonged to the Argive confederacy, and was separated from Argos by the territory of Corinth. The princes of Argos had thus a direct interest in extending their sovereignty over that state, and, at any rate, in making Corinth a member of the confederacy of Argos, and of the common sacrifice to Apollo Pythæus (*vide supra*, p. 17). If Telestes, king of Corinth, really sought the assistance of Argos, as the pretenders to the throne of Messenia not long afterwards sought that of Sparta, he must have sought it about 757 B.C.[1] According to this Phidon held Corinth in subjection, not merely owing to his superior strength, but also because of the division in the royal house at Corinth, and because Telestes required protection.

In establishing his power to the east of the Peloponnesus he was assisted by the Pisatæ. The assertion of Pausanias that the Pisatæ had summoned him to their aid against the Eleans is entirely in accordance

[1] Telestes reigned twelve years; he was murdered in 745 B.C. This year is fixed by the fact that Cypselus began to reign in 655 B.C., after the prytany of the Bacchiadæ, which lasted ninety years; accordingly Telestes' reign began 655 + 90 + 12 = 757 B.C.

with the situation of affairs. The Eleans had taken from the Pisatæ the western part of their country, with the district of Olympia, the place where the Pisatæ had anciently worshipped Zeus and Hera. Nothing was more natural than that the Pisatæ should wish to recover their territory, and the shrine which the Eleans had lately made the meeting point for a common sacrifice, wherein Pisatæ, Messenians, and Achæans participated under their guidance; that they should try to re-establish their ancient independence in its full extent, and should summon to their assistance the growing and aspiring power of Argos under Phidon. The arms of Phidon were victorious against the Eleans; he held the sacrifice and the games in the summer of the year 748 B.C., and the Pisatæ regained their ancient territory. It is possible that Heraclea, a place belonging to the Pisatæ, three miles west of Olympia, may then have received its name, and may have been designed for the protection of the shrine against the Eleans, since the ancient altar of the hero Heracles, in the Altis at Olympia (near the subsequent treasure-house of the Sicyonians), was supposed to have been consecrated by Phidon at this time. For it was as the descendant of Heracles that Phidon claimed the right of presenting the offering at Olympia, and of conducting the games.

It was no doubt Phidon's interference with Elis, and this conducting of the Olympic sacrifice, which gave him among the Greeks the reputation of being the most arbitrary of all tyrants. We know from Ephorus that he laid claim to all the states which Heracles had once conquered. The legend of the descent of the princes of Argos from Heracles, and of their ancient right to the throne of Argos, would not

have extended much higher than Phidon, if it had not emanated from him; and the same may be said of the legends of Heracles' conquest of Augeas of Elis, the institution of the Olympic sacrifice in consequence of this victory, and the defeat of Hippocoon of Sparta by Heracles. Phidon had a very obvious interest in giving a valid and legitimate title to his claims and achievements.[1]

The powerful position which Phidon assumed about the middle of the eighth century in the Peloponnesus, the importance of the sway which he exercised from Cythera and Ægina to the mouth of the Alpheus, from Cape Malea to the isthmus, is most clearly evinced by the fact that he established a system of weights and measures for the Greeks, and issued the first gold and silver coins in the peninsula. In the Homeric poems the talent (*i.e.* the weight) is an indefinite but not considerable weight of gold. In commerce money was weighed in the scales, and metal bars of a given weight were also in use, which were probably named from their oblong form, tapering to the end, ὀβελοί (spits). "There were then," says Pausanias, speaking of the time of Phidon, "no gold and silver coins: men bought and sold with oxen, slaves, and unwrought gold and silver."[2] This assertion is not quite accurate; the Phocæans coined money in the first part of the eighth century,[3] and the coins of King Agamemnon of Cyme were probably not much later in date than those of Phidon of Argos. But there was no coinage in the Peloponnesus, and the Eubœan system of weights was not in use, at any rate, beyond Eubœa, until after the

[1] As to the descent of the Doric princes of Argos from Heracles, and the date when this legend arose, *supra*, vol. i. pp. 215, 456.

[2] Pausan. 3, 12, 3.

[3] *Supra*, vol. i. p. 482; *infra*, ch. 10.

date of Phidon. The Dorians of Argos in their Cretan colony of Cnossus had become acquainted with the written characters of the Phœnicians, as well as with their coinage, weights, and measures (vol. i. p. 427 f). We have seen that the oldest forms of the Greek alphabet existed in Crete. They were borrowed from the Phœnicians, and transplanted from Crete to Argos, from Argos to Corinth and Megara, and finally from Corinth and Megara to their colonies in Thrace, on the Bosphorus and in Sicily (vol. i. p. 519). We may assume, not only from this, but from the harmony between the coins of Phidon and the Phœnician standard, that the colonisation of Cnossus had also brought the knowledge of that standard to Argos, and that the technical arts necessary for coining money had been derived from the Phœnicians. Phidon began with a silver coinage. The unit on which his coinage was based—his talent—was the Babylonian-Phœnician silver talent of 67⅓ lbs., and like that was divided into sixty parts, which retained the Semitic designation of minæ; but instead of the fifty shekels included in the Babylonian-Phœnician mina, Phidon's talent contained fifty staters. The stater was divided by Phidon into two halves, called drachmæ, so that his talent consisted of 6000 drachmæ. The drachma was further divided into six obols. The weight, in comparison with the Babylonian-Phœnician pattern, was somewhat augmented. The drachma weighed from 6.20 to 6.30 grammes; the stater from 12.40 to 12.60 grammes; the mina 1 lb. and one-fifth; the talent 72 lbs. The most ancient specimens of this standard that have been preserved (the stater) bear the stamp of a tortoise, and on the reverse side an incuse square.[1] In German

[1] Brandis, *Münzwesen*, p. 131.

money the value of Phidon's talent was 2160 thalers (or about £324 English); that of the mina 36 thalers (about £5 : 8s.); that of the stater 21 silbergroschen (about 2s. $2\frac{1}{4}$d.); and that of the drachma 10 silbergroschen and 5 pfennigs (about 1s. $1\frac{1}{2}$d.). The gold talent was regulated by Phidon in such a manner that twenty silver drachmæ or ten silver staters were equal to a gold stater of 9.50 grammes in weight. The weight of silver had to be multiplied thirteen times and one-third in order to be equal in value to the same weight of gold, according to the comparative value of the two metals at that period.[1] According to our present valuation a given weight of gold is equal in value to fifteen times its weight in silver. In accordance with the proportion given, the gold talent of Phidon must have been arranged upon a weight of 57 lbs. pure gold, and 76 lbs., including alloy. The use of the metal bars, hitherto employed, was discontinued; Phidon is said to have dedicated some of these as a memorial in the temple of Hera, near Argos.[2] His coinage afterwards bore the title of Æginetan, and the observation of Ephorus[3] that Phidon struck the first coins in Ægina, is doubtless merely intended as an explanation of the name. It seems most likely that the older designation "Phidonian money" gave place to the later, when Ægina, on the decline of the power of Argos, became an important seat of trade and maritime commerce. The dry and surface measures also were reorganised by Phidon,[4] and a vessel con-

[1] Twenty silver drachmæ of 6.30 give 126.5 grammes, thirteen times the weight of the gold stater of 9.50 grammes. The Æginetan gold stater weighs from 13.24 to 14.24; of which $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent is to be deducted for the alloy. Brandis, *loc. cit.* p. 111.

[2] *Etym. Magn.* Ὀβελίσκος. [3] Ap. Strab. p. 376.

[4] Ephor. *Fragm.* 15; Marmor Par. *Ep.* 30.

taining a certain amount of oil was called after his name.[1] As to his dry measure we only know that it was larger than that in use in Attica; that the medimnus of Phidon contained an Attic medimnus and a half (the Attic medimnus was about equal to the Prussian bushel), and that the Æginetan χοῦς was equal to an Attic χοῦς and a half.[2] Instead of the superficial measures hitherto in use, the ἄρουρα and the γύης, the plethrum was introduced, a square of 100 feet in length and breadth. The foot was fixed by Phidon, according to a measure which was undoubtedly derived from Crete—that is, 315 millimètres, or two-thirds of the Babylonian ell. The Greeks relate that Heracles measured out the racecourse at Olympia with his own foot; but it is more probable that Phidon, at the Olympic festival held by him in 748 B.C., fixed the length of the course according to his new foot at 600 feet (or 589 Prussian feet). This Olympic stadium of 600 feet, or six plethra, or a hundred fathoms (ὀργυίαι), ultimately became the normal standard of measurement among the Greeks.

A most important step was made in the Greek peninsula by the introduction of Phidon's weights and measures, and especially his coins. Instead of bars, which every one could weigh and stamp as he chose, and every one was obliged to verify, there were now symbols of value issued by the commonwealth, weighed, stamped, and approved by it. The new coinage was not confined to Phidon's dominions, it was adopted not only by the cities of Crete, by Elis, by the Achæans, the Arcadians, and all the cantons of the

[1] Pollux, 10, 179.

[2] Athenæus, p. 141; Plut. *Lyc.* 12. That the Æginetan weights and measures were used in Sparta appears to me beyond question.

Peloponnesus, but also by Attica, Bœotia, Phocis, and Locris. In the Peloponnesus, Ægina, and Crete, it remained the current coinage.[1]

Argos was unable to maintain the position which she attained under the government of Phidon. He himself does not seem to have long survived the Olympic festival which he held in the year 748 B.C. Ephorus tells us that the Eleans rose in arms against him, and that the Lacedæmonians, from whom Phidon had taken the hegemony of the Peloponnesians, had rendered them assistance. The Eleans and Spartans, he says, together broke the power of Phidon, and the Spartans further assisted the Eleans in the subjugation of Pisatis and Triphylia.[2] Phidon cannot have taken from the Spartans a hegemony in the Peloponnesus which they never had; but it is very likely that as the Pisatæ applied to Argos, so the Eleans may have called to their aid the increasing power of the Spartans who had recently gained the lower valley of the Eurotas, and that the Spartans who had been opposed by Argos in the conquest of Helos (*vide supra*, p. 19), and to whom the growing importance of Argos must have appeared dangerous, did not refuse their request. Spartan tradition speaks of a hostile expedition of King Nicander, the contemporary of Alcamenes, against Argos, in which the Dryopes of Asine (south of Nauplia, on the coast of Argos), who were subject to Argos, had gone over to the side of Sparta.[3] That the combined arms of Elis and Sparta triumphed over Phidon or his successor, as Ephorus says, is proved by the Eleans having been again able to hold the Olympic

[1] Bœckh, *Metrologie*, p. 100 ff; Hultsch, *Metrologie*, pp. 132, 263 [ed. 1].

[2] Ephor. *Fragm.* 15 M.

[3] Vol. i. p. 428; Pausan. 2, 36, 4; 3, 7, 4.

festival in 744 B.C. This fact plainly shows that Argos and the Pisatæ were repulsed, though the further statement of Ephorus that at that time the whole of Pisatis and Triphylia were already subject to the Eleans is incorrect, and obviously applies to a much later war of the combined Spartans and Eleans against Pisa (about the year 580 B.C.).[1] The Pisatæ on the contrary maintained themselves, even after they had again lost Olympia, under their own princes, in the higher mountain country to the eastward. But no doubt the admission of Sparta to the sacrificial league at Olympia, and the more intimate relations between Elis and Sparta (vol. i. p. 397), may be dated from this efficient assistance rendered by Sparta, and from the common war of the Eleans and Spartans against Argos, *i.e.* from the year 745 B.C.

So far as we can tell, Phidon died while Sparta and Elis were gaining these successes. A mutilated fragment of an extract from Nicolaus of Damascus gives the following particulars as to his death. The Corinthians, we read, were in a state of discord; out of friendship to Corinth, Phidon went to their assistance, and was there killed in a party quarrel. Corinth had become subject to Phidon; the discord probably consisted in the adherence of one party, that of Telestes, to Argos, and the efforts of the opposite party to become independent of Argos. The latter might suppose a favourable moment had arrived when Elis and Sparta revolted against Phidon. To maintain

[1] Strabo gives his own opinion side by side with this statement of Ephorus: "After the final overthrow of the Messenians," he says, "the Lacedæmonians assisted the Eleans to subjugate the Pisatæ and the Triphylians, so that the name of Elis extends to the Messenian border," p. 355. Moreover, we know that the commonwealth and monarchy of the Pisatæ existed up to the date given in the text.

his party at Corinth in power, Phidon marched "to the help of the city." The fragment leaves it doubtful whether he fell in a conspiracy of the opposite faction in Corinth, or by his own adherents. Probably the former is meant. King Telestes was murdered in the year 745 B.C. (*vide supra*, p. 21, note) by his relations, as we are told by Diodorus, *i.e.* by descendants of Agemon.[1] Pausanias mentions the murderers of Telestes by name—Arieus and Perantas—and tells us that their motive was hatred.[2] If our conjecture is correct that Telestes sought aid from Phidon to strengthen himself against the family of Agemon, then, in order to avenge the murder of Telestes, to maintain the descendants of Aristomedes against those of Agemon at the head of affairs, and thereby to assert his authority over Corinth, Phidon must have marched thither, and been killed in the enterprise. Corinth after this, says Pausanias, was governed by prytanies (for after the death of Telestes there was no other king), and took the side of Sparta (*infra*, chap. 4).

Of the successors of Phidon on the throne of Argos little is known. We hear only that King Eratus, who immediately followed him, punished the rebellion of the Dryopes of Asine, who had assisted King Nicander of Sparta in his invasion of Argolis. Not long after the expedition of Nicander, says Pausanias, Eratus marched with the Argives against Asine. For some time the Asinæans successfully defended the walls of their city, and many Argives, among them Lysistratus, one of the most distinguished, fell. Subsequently, however, the Argives took the place, and the Asinæans fled, accompanied by their wives and

[1] Diodor. ap. Euseb. *Chron.* 1, 222 Sch. [Nicol. Damas. *Fragm.* 41 M.]
[2] Pausan. 2, 4, 4.

children to the Lacedæmonians, with whom they sought and found protection. The Argives razed the city to the ground; they spared only the temple of Apollo Pythæus, where they buried Lysistratus; and they added the land to their own domains.[1] This event occurred some years after the death of Phidon, about the year 740 B.C., for we find the Dryopes, who had been expelled from Asine, in the army of the Spartans during the first Messenian War (735-716 B.C.), the Argives having, as we read, supported the Messenians in that war, while Corinth was on the side of the Spartans.

[1] Pausan. 3, 7, 4; 2, 36, 4, 5.

CHAPTER III.

CORINTH AND MEGARA UNDER THE RULE OF THE NOBILITY.

On the neck of the isthmus which connects the Peloponnesus with the continent, the Phœnicians had once had a station; here they had worshipped Melkart, and, on the height above Corinth, Astarte and Ashera (vol. i. p. 60 f); they had taught their cults to the inhabitants of these places, the Ionians, and had left behind them some skill in handiwork. After this the Ionian communities of that region were conquered, as we have seen, by the Dorians, led by Aletes; from the bay of Cenchreæ, from the hill of Solygeus, which the Dorians had fortified, Aletes took the city (vol. i. p. 218). We recognised in the legend of the brothers Doridas and Hyanthidas, the two kings who are said to have borne rule in Corinth at the arrival of the Dorians and resigned their sovereignty to Aletes, the union of the new and the old population; the Dorians being represented by Doridas, the Ionians by Hyanthidas; and when we subsequently find that the population, or rather the ruling class, of Corinth was divided into eight tribes (Aletes himself is said to have been the author of this tribal division), it seems to imply, as we have already noticed, that the three tribes of the Dorians were supplemented by five tribes, which must have included the noble families of the old population.

Of subject classes, like the Perioeci and bond-slaves in Argos, Sparta, and other conquered cantons, we hear nothing in Corinth. Only in the district which the Dorians, issuing from Argos and Corinth, had added to the domain of the new state in the direction of Attica, in the isthmus, and what was afterwards the Megarid, do the ancient inhabitants appear to have been reduced to a condition resembling that of the Perioeci. Good pasture for flocks can be found on the heights which divide the isthmus, but there is no fertile soil for tillage except in the small plain on the west, between the rocky crests of Geranea and the Cerata; so that the Dorians are not likely to have settled here in great numbers. Strabo and Pausanias content themselves with the observation that the ancient population of the isthmus became Dorian.[1] The five communities that were here formed by the Heraeis, Piraeis, Cynosuraeis, Tripodiscaei, and lastly by the Megarians, on the fruitful plain near the shore (it was in that locality that the Dorians seem mostly to have established themselves), were tributary to the kings of Corinth; at the burial and funeral ceremonies of these kings they were obliged to present themselves in Corinth, both men and women.[2]

Over Corinth the house of Aletes bore rule. Aletes was said to be descended from Heracles; not from his son Hyllus, as were the royal houses of Argos, Laconia,

[1] It has been already noticed (vol. i. p. 243, note 2) that Attica never had possession of Megara, but that the ancient population of Megara, irrespective of Carians and Phœnicians, was of Ionian race. The fortress of Alcathous, son of Pelops, is an indication that Achæan princes were ruling there at the time when Achæan Argos was in power; see vol. i. p. 95.

[2] *Schol.* Aristoph. *Ranæ*, 439; *Schol.* Pind. *Nem.* 7, 155; Plut. *Quæst. Græc.* 17; Suidas, Διὸς Κόρινθος; Strabo, pp. 333, 363, 392; Pausan. 1, 39, 4.

and Messenia, but from Antiochus, another son. Corinth did not celebrate the Carnea to Apollo—that is, the festival of Apollo Carneus, whom the Dorians honoured as their leader in the Peloponnesus, did not take place here. The legend explains this by saying that Hippotes, the father of Aletes, slew the seer Carnus in the camp at Naupactus (vol. i. p. 218, note 1). Aletes was succeeded on the throne of Corinth by Ixion, Ixion by Agelas, and Agelas by Prymnis, the succession always descending to the eldest son. After Prymnis came Bacchis, who was so celebrated that his descendants were called after him Bacchiadæ.[1] This is manifestly a device of the legend to conceal the accession of a new royal house, which was then represented, and represented itself, as descending from Heracles. Bacchis was succeeded by Eudemus, and Eudemus by Aristomedes. Agemon, the brother of Aristomedes, took the kingdom from his nephew Telestes, Aristomedes' son, who was a child, and left it to his own son Alexander. Telestes slew Alexander, and, as we have ventured to conclude above, maintained the throne with the help of Phidon of Argos, under his protection and in dependence upon him, for twelve years, until he was put to death "by his kinsmen," Arieus and Perantas (descendants of Agemon and Alexander).

The violent contention for the throne between the elder and the younger line of Eudemus' descendants, of whom one branch relied upon Argos, and the other repudiated any dependence on that state, while both carried on the conflict with deeds of blood, no doubt gave the nobles of Corinth power and opportunity to end the struggle by a change in the constitution, and

[1] Diodor. ap. Euseb. *Chron.* 1, 222 Sch.

by the discontinuance of the monarchy; this occurred in the year 745 B.C., after eight generations of kings.[1] When Telestes, and after him King Phidon, had been slain at Corinth, there was nothing to prevent the reconciliation of the two lines, for the reason that neither of them could lay claim to the throne. Yet the place at the head of the commonwealth was not to be entirely taken away from the ancient royal house. A presiding chief (a prytanis), newly elected each year by the whole nobility from the members of the royal race, was henceforward to conduct the government.

It was a peculiar arrangement which this change introduced into Corinth. We may assume that the sovereignty was transferred to the nobles collectively, or to their representative. This representation seems to have been so regulated that each of the eight tribes sent an equal number of members to the Gerousia, *i.e.* the council of elders; the number may have been ten, as we find at a later period. But the first of these eight tribes, to which belonged the royal family, was privileged. From it was chosen the head of the state, an office for which only a Bacchiad was eligible—that is, only a member of the old royal house, which took the foremost place in the first tribe. This clan of the Bacchiadæ is said to have contained two hundred men. "They were numerous and wealthy," says Strabo. Accordingly the royal house did not exclusively retain

[1] Diodorus (ap. Euseb. p. 222 Sch.) has eleven kings from Aletes to Telestes. The double mention of Agelas, merely for the sake of lengthening the list, must, however, be cancelled. Aristomedes and Agemon, Alexander and Telestes are in the same generation. Only eight, therefore, remain; and twenty-five years being allowed for a generation, the commencement of the reign of Aletes would fall (745 + 200 B.C.) in 950 B.C., *vide* vol. i. p. 138, note 2.

the first rank in the state, but only in conjunction with the families connected with it by kindred and race. By this means the ancient relation of the commonwealth to the gods was maintained, though the traditional customs and sacrifices were no longer offered by a king of the house of Bacchis, but by a member of the same family, that of the Bacchiadæ. The exclusive right of the clan of the Bacchiadæ to the office of prytanis prevented members of the five tribes who were not originally Doric, but had become Doricised, from attaining the leadership of the state.[1] The Bacchiad Automenes was the first prytanis of Corinth.

The new constitution of Corinth, the government by nobles, under the dynastic presidency of one family, became a type for other cantons. It was a Corinthian of the Bacchiadæ who, twenty or thirty years after the introduction of the prytanes, regulated the oligarchy of the Thebans and gave them laws (about 725 B.C.).[2]

[1] The number of the Bacchiadæ indicates, not a family, but a clan, or φρατρία. In order to explain this number, seven sons and three daughters are ascribed to King Bacchis, who multiplied so greatly that instead of Heraclidæ they were called Bacchiadæ, Heracl. Pont. *Fragm.* 5 M. These ten children signify the ten houses united together in the φρατρία of the Bacchiadæ, and twenty men or twenty families in each house would correspond to these ten houses. The words πάντα ὀκτώ in Suidas show that one of the eight, in contrast to the rest, had once had special pre-eminence. That the Bacchiadæ, as the pretended oracle in Herodotus seemed to indicate, and as Diodorus says (ap. Euseb. *loc. cit.*), κατέσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ κοινῇ προειστήκεισαν τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντες, is not credible. If certain rights had not accrued to the nobility from the fall of the monarchy, they would hardly have overturned it. After the fall of the Cypselidæ each of the eight tribes had ten representatives in the Gerousia; in Herodotus ten men are sent out to kill the boy Cypselus. That the Bacchiadæ did not fill all offices is clear from the statement of Nicolaus—doubtless derived from Ephorus—that Cypselus, whose father belonged neither to the Bacchiadæ nor to the three Doric tribes, was elected polemarch, and afterwards became tyrant.

[2] As Diocles was victor at Olympia in 728 B.C., Philolaus must have migrated to Thebes after that date, and therefore about 725 B.C. (*vide supra*, p. 12).

Aristotle tells us that Diocles the Corinthian, in order to escape his mother's passion for him, emigrated to Thebes. Philolaus, a Bacchiad, the lover of Diocles, followed him thither, and became the lawgiver of the Thebans. The precept that the number of hereditary estates should be maintained and not diminished, is a special feature in his code; he also arranged the laws of adoption. "And even now," says Aristotle, "the graves of Philolaus and Diocles, who lie near each other, are shown."[1] The Thebans could only have transferred to a stranger the arrangement of their laws if they had reason to credit him with unusual experience in matters relating to the commonwealth. An oligarchy, to be permanent, requires that the estates should be kept in the families; the law that younger sons of other families should be adopted in case of failure of heirs male is closely connected with it. Of Corinth itself, Aristotle says: "Phidon the lawgiver set out from the principle" that the number of families must remain unaltered, even if they had inherited properties of unequal value.[2] However remarkable the name Phidon may be at Corinth, as Aristotle calls him one of the first lawgivers, we may no doubt assign his activity to the year 700 B.C.

The fall of the monarchy in Corinth at first brought with it disastrous consequences for the power and prestige of the commonwealth. The communities of the Megarians—either because the new government made increased demands upon them, or because they considered their allegiance had ceased with the cessation of monarchy, and thought the moment was favourable—deserted Corinth and asserted their freedom. The five communities on the isthmus united together

[1] Aristot. *Pol.* 2, 9, 6-8 = 1274 *a* 31. [2] *Pol.* 2, 3, 7 = 1265 *b* 13.

around the territory of Megara, lying in the plain by the Saronic Gulf, where the majority of the Doric tribes had settled; the city of Megara, in the vicinity of two ancient fortresses (that of Caria, which at an earlier period may have been founded by Carian settlers, *vide* vol. i. p. 32; and another called the fortress of Alcathous, after Alcathous, the son of Pelops), became the chief centre of the communities, now associated in one commonwealth. In the war with Corinth the frontier districts were no doubt lost; but the Megarians recovered them under the command of Orsippus before the end of the eighth century. Argos is said to have assisted the Megarians against Corinth,[1] which, considering the circumstances which led to the separation of Corinth from Argos, is comprehensible enough. On the other hand the prytanes of Corinth of the tribe of Bacchis are said to have sent help to the Spartans when the latter were at war with the Messenians, *i.e.* from 735 to 716 B.C., while Argos supported the Messenians against the Spartans.

After the fall of the monarchy we find Corinth, and likewise Megara, which was now separated from it, taking part in the sacrifice of the Eleans at Olympia. In the years 728 and 724 B.C. Diocles and Desmon, both Corinthians, were victors in the contest of the stadium; in the year 720 the victor was Orsippus of Megara. The inscription on the monument which the Megarians, in obedience to the Delphic oracle, erected to Orsippus in the market-place of Megara, ran thus: "To Orsippus, valiant in battle, the Megarians, obedient to the Delphic oracle, erect this monument, visible from afar. He restored wide boundaries to his fatherland, from which the enemy had wrested much

[1] Pausan. 6, 19, 13 *sqq.*

territory. He was the first of the Greeks who was crowned naked at Olympia; previously the runners in the stadium wore girdles."[1] On the pediment of the treasure-house, which the Megarians then erected at Olympia, hung a shield with this inscription: "The Megarians built this treasure-house with the spoil which they took from the Corinthians." To judge from the workmanship, the building cannot have been erected earlier than the first half of the sixth century.[2]

The important progress of Corinth under the prytany of the Bacchiadæ was not due to successes upon the mainland, but in another sphere. For navigation and commerce no canton in Hellas was more favourably situated. Lying on the neck of the isthmus, it extended from sea to sea, an advantageous position which had indeed first attracted the Phœnicians thither in ancient times. The fewer were the strips of broken mountain country available for cultivation in the territory of Corinth, the more distinct was the vocation of the inhabitants for commerce, trade, and maritime enterprise. "Corinth," says Thucydides, "was always from the first a centre of commerce, and abounded in wealth; for the population within and without the Peloponnesus communicated with each other more in ancient times by land across the isthmus than by sea. But when the Hellenes became more practised in navigation, the Corinthians with their ships put down piracy and established marts on both sides; and through this influx of riches their city became very powerful."[3]

[1] Pausan. 1, 44, 1; *C.I.G.* No. 1050. That there continued to be border wars even at a later time between Corinth and Megara we find from Thucyd. 1, 105; Diodor. 11, 79.

[2] Pausanias (6, 19, 13) thinks that this victory of the Megarians should be placed even earlier, prior to the Olympiads.

[3] Thucyd. 1, 13.

The suppression of piracy was connected with the Crisaic Gulf, to which the Corinthians lay nearest. The robberies committed by the Ozolian Locrians and the Ætolians within the gulf, especially in its narrow outlet into the western sea, the interruption thereby occasioned to the commerce of that sea and of the western coasts of the peninsula, must have been very harassing to the Corinthians.[1] They required strongly manned vessels, in order to keep the highways clear, and to protect merchant ships. The farther way into the western sea, which opened at the entrance of the strait, had been shown to the Corinthians by mariners of the Ægean from the East—Ionians of Eubœa and Naxos. Chalcidians and Naxians, under the leadership of Theocles, in the year 735 B.C., founded Naxos, on the east coast of Sicily.[2] The fame of that country, of its fertility and wealth, and of the weakness of its inhabitants, impelled the Corinthians to follow quickly along the road which they ought to have been the first to tread. Southward of the infant colony of the Ionians, on the east coast of Sicily, and just opposite to this, the most fruitful part of the country, lay an islet not quite two miles and a half in circumference, called Ortygia by the Greeks, a convenient landing-place for new settlers. The channel between this islet and the larger island afforded a secure anchorage. "From Corinth," says Thucydides, "came Archias, one of the Heraclidæ,[3] and founded Syracuse; first he drove the Sicels out of the islet on which the inner city, now no longer surrounded by the sea, is situated" (the island was afterwards connected with Sicily by

[1] Thucyd. I, 5.

[2] *Infra*, chap. 8.

[3] According to the Parian marble, *Ep.* 31, he was the tenth from Temenus.

a mole); "in course of time the outer city (in Sicily proper) was also surrounded by walls and became populous."[1] We learn that Eumelus one of the Bacchiadæ, an epic poet who had sung of the myths of the ancient kings of Corinth, and of Jason and Medea (vol. i. p. 98 f), and had also composed choric songs, accompanied Archias in his western voyage;[2] likewise that one of the priests of Olympia of the tribe of the Iamidæ took part in the expedition,[3] and that most of the emigrants belonged to the Corinthian district of Tenea.[4]

Tradition has much more to tell us concerning the founding of Syracuse. Abron, who betrayed to the Corinthians the design of King Phidon, had settled in Corinthian territory, and here his son Melissus became the father of Actæon, who, growing up a beautiful youth, attracted the violent affection of Archias, a descendant of Heracles, the greatest and richest man in Corinth. As he could not get possession of the boy otherwise, he determined to steal him. With a large body of his adherents and slaves, he appeared before the house of Melissus, who with his friends offered resistance. The neighbours hastened to render aid, and in the struggle Actæon was killed. Melissus brought the body of the boy into the market-place at Corinth, showed it, and demanded punishment for those who had done the deed. He obtained compassion, but nothing more. Waiting till the time of the festival on the isthmus came round, he then ascended to the temple of

[1] Thucyd. 6, 3.

[2] Clemens Alex. *Strom.* 1, p. 298. The dates given by the chronographers to Eumelus, *Olymp.* 4, 4 = 761 B.C., and *Olymp.* 12 = 730 B.C., agree with this. Pausan. 2, 1, 1; 4, 4, 1; 4, 33, 2.

[3] Pind. *Olymp.* 6, 6; the *Scholia* and Bœckh, *Explic.* p. 152.

[4] Strabo, p. 380.

Poseidon, spoke of the services rendered by his father Abron, accused the Bacchiadæ, and threw himself, in the act of invoking the gods, from the cliffs. Not long afterwards famine and pestilence visited Corinth, and when the Corinthians inquired at Delphi how they might avert these evils (Archias himself was the θεωρός), the god replied that the anger of Poseidon would not be appeased until the death of Actæon was expiated. When Archias heard this, he voluntarily refused to return to Corinth; he sailed to Sicily, built Syracuse, and became the father of two daughters, Ortygia and Syracusa. He was finally assassinated by Telephus, the commander of a ship, who had sailed with him to Sicily, and whom he had grossly outraged.[1] This legend has little claim to credibility. A crime committed by a powerful man in Corinth against a settler in the land, and not punished by the Corinthians, draws down upon them the vengeance of the gods. The most guilty of their number flies the country, to turn away the divine wrath; he meets his death as a punishment for the same passion which had tempted him to his first sin. Of the daughters whom he left behind him, Ortygia and Syracusa, one is the island on which the first colony was planted, subsequently the inner city, and the other the colony which grew up on the opposite coast of Sicily, afterwards the outer city; the latter is said to have received the name of Syracusa from Syraca, a marsh, and this was finally the appellation of both cities.[2]

Pausanias quotes the Delphic oracle which commanded Archias to found Syracuse: "Ortygia lies in the glimmering sea over against Thrinacia, where the

[1] Plut. *Amator. narr.* 2; Diod. *Excerpt. de virtut.* pp. 548, 549 = 8, 8.
[2] Holm, *Gesch. Siciliens*, I, 125.

bubbling outlet of the Alpheus mingles with the fair streaming sources of Arethusa."[1] It is evident that these verses are based upon local information, which could only have been acquired after the colonisation of that island. On the western coast of Ortygia, not far from the sea, there rises a copious spring; its waters now flow from four openings into a noble basin.[2] The Greeks called this spring Arethusa—a name that is frequent among the springs of Bœotia, Eubœa, and Elis.[3] They believed that the river Alpheus, which flowed by the sacrificial precincts of Olympia, had followed the nymph Arethusa under the sea, until he overtook and embraced her on the island of Ortygia; with and in the Arethusa he here again streamed forth. A goblet thrown into the Alpheus at Olympia is said to have come to light in the Arethusa at Ortygia; and when, at the time of the great sacrifices at Olympia, the blood of the animals ran into the Alpheus, the waters of the Arethusa at Ortygia were discoloured.[4] Pindar calls Ortygia "the holy resting-place of Alpheus."[5] Conceptions of this kind could only have arisen after the colonisation of Ortygia; they manifestly originated with the priestly race that resided at

[1] Pausan. 5, 7, 3.

[2] I here follow Holm, p. 124, in opposition to Schubring.

[3] Whether the name is derived from the Syrian *arith*, *i.e.* river, pond, is doubtful. Fish were kept in the Arethusa at Chalcis as they were in the Arethusa at Ortygia (Cicero *in Verr.* 4, 53; 5, 3); it is therefore possible that the streams called Arethusa, with their fish-ponds, were once dedicated by the Phœnicians to the Syrian goddess of fruitfulness. In harmony with this, the Arethusa in Eubœa belonged to Artemis (chapter 8), and the *Scholia* on Pind. *Nem.* 1, 1, say that it was Artemis whom Alpheus followed. To the Greeks the Syrian goddess was, according to her two aspects, sometimes Artemis or the armed Aphroditæ, and sometimes Aphrodite Urania = Ashtoreh Shamim.

[4] Strabo, p. 270.

[5] Pind. *Nem.* 1, 1; Pausan. 5, 7, 2; 8, 54, 3.

Olympia, the Iamidæ, a member of which migrated with Archias to Ortygia.[1] The coins of Syracuse subsequently bore the head of Arethusa. It is possible that the Phœnicians may have possessed a station on Ortygia previously to the Greeks, and that they had already consecrated Arethusa to their goddess.

The colonisation of Ortygia by the Corinthians took place a year after the founding of Naxos, in 734 B.C.[2] As to the constitution of the new state we only learn that after the example of the mother city it was strictly aristocratic. The associates of Archias divided among them the land and soil which had been acquired on the mainland opposite Ortygia. These landowners (*gamori*) got their estates cultivated by Sicels, whom they had conquered or captured, and employed as servants; they themselves were occupied with war and voyages, and the government of the city. "By reason of the fertility of its territory," says Strabo, "and its good harbours (which lay in the strait between Ortygia and Sicily) Syracuse made great advances." Seventy years after its founding the Syracusans built Acræ on the mountains (674 B.C.), and twenty years afterwards Casmenæ, to the south of Acræ (644 B.C.).

In making the voyage from Corinth, and from the Peloponnesus, to Sicily, it was customary for the ships to steer northwards in the Adriatic Sea, along the coasts of Acarnania and Epirus, as far as the island of Corcyra; here they first struck across the Adriatic to the Iapygian promontory, whence they followed the

[1] The most ancient evidence for the legend of the Alpheus are Pindar and the oracle in Pausanias.

[2] Holm, *Gesch. Siciliens*, 1, 381 ff. The Parian marble, *Ep.* 31, places the founding of Ortygia in *Olymp.* 5, 4 = 757. The legend of the contemporary founding of Croton and Syracuse, and of the common oracle delivered to Myscellus and Archias, was already current in the time of Aristophanes, *Equites* 1089, and the *Scholia*.

Italian coast southward to Sicily, to Naxos and Syracuse. This was the route from which, except in cases of necessity, there was still no deviation, even in the second half of the fifth century. It was important that the Corinthian ships sailing to Syracuse, and the Syracusan ships bound for the Corinthian Gulf, should have a station on this long voyage. In order to gain such a resting-place, Chersicrates of the tribe of the Bacchiadæ, "either voluntarily migrating," says Timæus, "or deprived of his right of citizenship," led forth colonists to the island of Corcyra, in the third decade after the founding of Syracuse, and expelled its inhabitants, who fled to the mainland. Strabo calls these inhabitants Liburnians. They were of Illyrian race.[1] Plutarch tells us that Chersicrates, landing with an army at Corcyra, found Eretrians already established there, who may very well have attempted the voyage to Sicily when Chalcis, the ancient rival of their city, had founded Naxos on that island. Defeated by Chersicrates, the Eretrians took ship and built Methone on the coasts of Thrace.[2] The settlement of the Corinthians on Corcyra must have taken place in the year 705 B.C.[3] The town of Corcyra was built on the east side of the island opposite Epirus, on a peninsula jutting out into the sea: one of the two natural harbours afforded by the bays of this peninsula was named the Hylleic, after Hyllus; from which it is clear that the tribe of the Hylleis had its representatives among the colonists. The new commonwealth was

[1] Timæus, *Fragm.* 53 M; Strabo, p. 270.

[2] Plut. *Quæst. Gr.* 11. In Strabo, *loc. cit.*, Archias in his voyage to Ortygia leaves Chersicrates behind in Corcyra. Strabo here follows a story which evidently seeks to bring the founding of Corcyra, Syracuse, Croton, and of the Sicilian Megara into direct connection (p. 262).

[3] Jerome, *Olymp.* 18, 4 = 705 B.C. The time is pretty certainly fixed by the contemporary date of Tarentum.

organised after the pattern of the mother city; here also a prytany was placed at the head of the state.[1] The settlers believed that the island had been inhabited by the Phæacians of whom Homer sang.[2] They dedicated a sacred grove to King Alcinous, and paid him the honours of a hero. Here too they discovered the cave in which Jason, who also reigned in Corinth and was the type of all enterprising seamen, had solemnised his marriage with Medea (vol. i. p. 100); and on the shore, close to the new city, they built a temple to Hera, who had guided and protected the voyages of the Argo. Corcyra was rich in timber for shipbuilding, and fruitful in wine and oil; the settlers carried these commodities, as well as the products of Corinthian industries—painted pottery, carpets, woven garments, and weapons—to the neighbouring coasts of Epirus, where they exchanged them for the cattle, wool, and skins so abundant among the Thesprotians, Chaonians, and Molossians.

With what zeal the Corinthians applied themselves to navigation is most conclusively shown by an important improvement which they introduced into the structure of the Hellenic ship. Besides the trading vessels, in which at that time the crews were at once oarsmen and armed soldiers, the Greeks possessed other vessels, which obeyed their fifty rowers more easily than the broader and heavier ships of burden obeyed their twenty or thirty; these fifty-oared ships were used for rapid journeys, plundering expeditions, and surprises, and for war. It is evident that the mobility of these long and narrow ships would be materially increased if the number of rowers could be augmented without the

[1] C. Müller, *De Corcyr. Reb.* p. 31, 45 *sqq.*
[2] Thucyd. 1, 24, 25; Strabo, p. 269.

necessity of building the ship longer in order to find place for the extra men. If the already lengthy vessel were made still longer, it would be either unmanageable or else too weak and indefensible to withstand the waves or the attack of a hostile ship; if it were made broader, in proportion to the length, it would become too heavy for the rowers, not only from its own weight, but also from the resistance of the waves and water. So about the end of the eighth century the Corinthians conceived the idea of building the fifty-oared ship, neither much longer nor much broader, but much higher; instead of one row of five-and-twenty oars on each side, it had now similar rows on each of the three decks, which rose one above the other. In this way the mobility and swiftness of the ship were increased threefold; and when it was required in time of war to overtake and sink an enemy, the fifty-oared vessel with one tier of rowers could hardly withstand the newly invented ship with three. While, in the ancient ship of fifty oars the rowers were entirely exposed to the missiles and weapons of the enemy, in the new vessels at least two tiers were protected behind the high bulwark; probably, indeed, this was also the case from the beginning with the third and highest tier, but only the front and hinder part of the vessel were decked over. The rowers were seated very closely above each other,[1] and those in the same row were quite close to each other, their faces being toward the helm. For himself and his work each rower had only a space of three feet. The new vessel carried, besides the rowers and steerers, soldiers on the two decks; so that, at any rate at a later period, a crew almost always consisted of about two hundred men. In spite of this considerable

[1] Aristoph. *Ran.* 1102.

complement these ships were not extraordinarily large; the crew was able to draw their vessel up upon the shore and down again to the water without any great exertion. The hull was light, of pinewood; the ribs, thwarts, and deck timbers were, subsequently at least, of plane. The length of such a vessel, with three tiers of rowers, was at a later time—when sixty-two rowers sat in the highest tier, fifty-eight in the middle, and fifty-four in the lowest—fully ninety feet, the breadth about twenty, the height from keel to deck at least fifteen. The uppermost tier of the rowers, the thranitæ, had the longest oars and the hardest work; in the middle tier sat the zeugitæ, in the lowest the thalamitæ.[1] The oars were passed through holes, and each was fastened by a thong to its place. The holes must have been large enough to allow of the blade of the oar being drawn through it when the oars were pulled back; it was even of sufficient size to admit a man's head. The space on board was very limited.[2] Whenever it was possible, therefore, the ship was brought to shore at meal times, and for the purposes of cookery; and unless in the case of long voyages across the open sea, mariners used to pass their nights on land, and remained no longer on board than their service absolutely required.

It was about the year 704 B.C., as Thucydides informs us, that Aminocles the shipbuilder went from Corinth to Samos, and built four triremes for the Samians.[3] From this we may conclude that Corinth

[1] Thucyd. 6, 31, and the *Scholia*. The rowers with their oars on their shoulders could follow a forced march. Thucyd. 2, 93; Plato, *Legg.* p. 705; Cartault, *La trière d'Athènes*.

[2] Herod. 5, 33.

[3] Thucyd. 1, 13; 300 years before the end of this war, *i.e.* 300 + 404 = 704 B.C.

under the dominion of the aristocracy, and in the second half of the eighth century, not only had commercial dealings with the West, but also in the Ægean Sea. Herodotus mentions that the Samians under their king, Amphicrates, waged war against Ægina, in which both parties suffered severely.[1] The Ionians, who had been driven out from Epidaurus by the Dorians, had become Samians; Ægina was a colony and dependency of the Doric Epidaurus, so that in this war the old Epidaurians were fighting against the new. But it was not only against the Dorians of Epidaurus and Ægina that the Samians then fought; Epidaurus, like Ægina, belonged to the federation of Argos; Corinth might have some interest in supporting a war of the Samians against her powerful neighbour Argos; it was in opposition to Argos, as we have seen, that the rule of the nobles had arisen in Corinth; and with the help of Argos Megara had become independent of that city. It is, therefore, possible that Corinth had these four triremes built for the Samians for employment in this war, which cannot have taken place much later than the end of the eighth century, for the monarchy did not exist in Samos after the year 700 B.C.

The Corinthians very soon after this themselves found occasion to use their new ships of war, not against strangers, but against their countrymen and colonists in Corcyra. Possibly the rapid growth of this colony may have excited the envy of the Corinthians, or the commerce of the Corcyræans on the coasts of Epirus and Acarnania may have superseded their own—a natural consequence of the more favourable position of the island in regard to this commerce—or Corcyra

[1] Herod. 3, 59.

may have laid claim to greater independence than the mother city was disposed to concede. Forty years after the founding of Corcyra a war broke out between that colony and Corinth, during which, in 664 B.C., was fought the first Hellenic naval battle known to Thucydides.[1] We hear nothing further as to the course of this war, but we know that the Corcyræans succeeded in breaking away from Corinth. It was a severe blow to the trade of that city, which was now entirely in the hands of the Corcyræans on the coasts of Epirus and Illyria.

In the commonwealth of Megara, founded after its separation from Corinth, there were, as at Corinth, certain ruling families. Even when Orsippus had enlarged their boundaries, the Megarians were limited to a small territory, consisting mainly of the cliffs and mountains of the isthmus. But Megara had the same advantageous situation as Corinth—her coast was washed both by the eastern and the western sea; besides the harbour close to the principal city, Megara possessed on the Corinthian Gulf the port of Pagæ. The fewer were the fruitful acres, with the exception of the plain around Megara, which the country offered, the more barren were the rocks of the isthmus, the more did the Megarians also feel themselves destined to navigation. They pursued the road which the Corinthians had taken. Even prior to the conquests of Orsippus and a few years after the Corinthians had founded Syracuse, some Megarians, under the command of Lamis, sailed from the Crisaic Gulf and reached the east coast of Sicily. From hence, when they had colonised the peninsula of Thapsus, to the north of Syracuse, the name of which points to a settlement of the Phœnicians in that neighbourhood, they turned, at

[1] Thucyd. I, 13; 260 years before the end of this war, 404 + 260 = 664 B.C.

the request of Hyblon, a prince of the Sicilians, farther northwards, and in a territory given them by Hyblon, rich in woods, herds, and honey, founded a city which they called Megara after their own home (728 B.C.).[1]

Half a century later the colonies of the Megarians took an opposite direction. Again they traversed great distances: passing from the Ægean Sea, through the Hellespont and the Propontis, under the leadership of Archias, they built the town of Calchedon (675 B.C.),[2] at the entrance of the Bosphorus, on the Asiatic shore. Another band of emigrants settled on the northern coast of the Propontis, in the territory of the Thracians, and here founded Selymbria (about 660 B.C.). Soon afterwards, when a second settlement in this region was in contemplation, it was perceived that on the European side, opposite Calchedon, on a small but deeply indented bay of the Bosphorus, there was a much better situation for a harbour than the former place.[3] An oracle is said to have given this announcement: "Happy are the men who shall inhabit this city on the coast of Thrace, close by the narrow mouth of Pontus, where deer and fish find equal pasture." The Megarian settlers discovered there a Thracian fortress, "the citadel of Byzas,"[4] after which they named the new city founded by them in 658 B.C.[5] The

[1] According to Thucydides, 6, 4, the Megarians were conquered by Gelon after they had dwelt there for 245 years. Gelon attained supreme power in Gela in 491 B.C.; and in 485 B.C. he became master of Syracuse. After 485 B.C. and before 480 B.C. he was in possession of Megara, which he must therefore have taken about 483 B.C. (Book 5, chap. 17), 483 + 245 = 728 B.C.

[2] Ap. Euseb. *Olymp.* 26, 2 = 675.

[3] Herod. 4, 144; Strabo, p. 320; Tacit. *Ann.* 12, 63.

[4] Diod. 4, 49; Hesych. Miles. *Fragm.* 4 M; Eustath. *ad Dionys.* 803; Steph. B. Βυζάντιον.

[5] Euseb. *Chron. Olymp.* 30, 2 = 659/58. Seventeen years after Calchedon, Herod. 4, 144, therefore 658 B.C.

constant warfare which the colonists had to maintain[1] with the neighbouring Thracians necessitated the reinforcement of the place, and this was accomplished in 628 B.C., under the command of Xeuxippus.[2] The numbers of tunny fish which came every year from the Pontus into the Propontis made their capture easy and very lucrative[3] when once they were crowded together in that narrow arm of the sea. The two Megarian cities on either side of the channel commanded the naval highway leading from the Ægean Sea and the Propontis into the Pontus. Byzantium soon outgrew the older sister city on the opposite shore; the Thracians in the immediate vicinity were crushed and degraded into cultivators of the soil, whose position was compared with that of the Spartan Helots.[4] The Byzantines on the Bosphorus carried with them the names of their ancient home. A height at the northern entrance of their harbour they called the "Isthmian Promontory;" the name of their native hero Sciron they gave to a cliff upon the shore, and here also they erected an altar to the hero Saron, from whom the Saronic Gulf is said to have derived its appellation.[5]

During the same year in which the second colony was sent to Byzantium, a band of Megarian settlers sailed to the west, to the Sicilian Megara. Their arrival enabled the Sicilian Megarians to send out from their city, Hyblæan Megara, a new colony into the west. Between the Phœnician cities of Motye at the western extremity of the island, and Minoa on the southern coast, on a height surrounded by groves

1 Polyb. 4, 44.
2 Joh. Lyd. *de Magistr.* 3, 70; Dionys. Byz. *Fragm.* 21.
3 Strabo, p. 320.
4 Phylarchus ap. *Athenæum*, p. 271.
5 Anaplus Bosp. *Fragm.* 11, 24, 43; Aristides, 2, 274 Dindorf.

of palm, in a fertile district at the mouth of a river flowing into the sea, which the colonists named Selinus, after the parsley covering its banks, — here, with Pamillus for their leader, they planted their new city, which also received the name of Selinus. The citadel of the new town rose close above the sea on the back of the height which runs steeply down to it (628 B.C.).[1]

By the founding of these colonies in Sicily and on the Bosphorus Megara embraced the whole Hellenic realm of commerce. Selinus was the most remote Hellenic city in Sicily, scarcely two days' sail from Carthage; in the east, by its cities on the Bosphorus and the Propontis, Calchedon and Byzantium, Megara commanded the traffic into and out of the Black Sea, the entire commerce with its northern and southern shores. This small state, in the course of a century after its separation from Corinth, had become a naval and commercial power. In navigation it had surpassed the Dorian Argos, to which the Hellenes owed their art of writing, coinage, weights and measures, and thrown its colonies into the shade; while from Corinth, its more favoured neighbour, it had wrested the supremacy by sea, at any rate on the Ægean and beyond it.

[1] Thucyd. 6, 4. A century after the founding of Hyblæan Megara; Virgil, *Æn.* 3, 705, and Servius *a. h. l.*

CHAPTER IV.

THE DORIANS IN MESSENIA.

THOSE Dorians who, at the period of the migrations into the Peloponnesus, settled at Stenyclarus, on the south-west boundary of Arcadia, and from hence pressed forward to the coast, had acquired a magnificent territory which, at any rate from the beginning of the eighth century, bore the name of Messenia. The highlands of Arcadia fall towards the south-west in two great terraces to the sea; the upper level, forming the plain of Stenyclarus, is sheltered from the north wind by the Arcadian mountains; from the surrounding heights, which form a cirque, numberless streams pour down their waters, thus affording abundant irrigation. The chain that bounds the plain of Stenyclarus to the south is broken through by the united waters of the upper table-land, just where it reaches its highest altitude in the double peak of Mount Ithome. Under the name of the river Pamisus the waters of the plain of Stenyclarus flow down into a second plain, more extensive, open to the south wind and therefore warmer, and extremely fertile; this luxuriant garden-land spreads itself to the shore of the Bay of Messenia. To the west it skirts a rocky peninsula, the domain of the ancient Pylus. Messenia was, as Euripides says, "a land full of fair fruits, watered by a thousand streams, the finest pasturage for cattle and sheep."[1]

[1] Strabo, p. 366.

As to the conquest and settlements of the Dorians in this district, we can only ascertain that the immigrants found support in the neighbouring province of Arcadia, and that Cresphontes became the son-in-law of the prince of Trapezus; we know no more, but we may conclude that the conquest of the country proceeded by slow degrees, until at length the kingdom of Pylus also was subjugated.[1] The descendants of Neleus, the Pylian nobility, fled before the Dorians to Attica. Here, as well as on the other side of the Ægean Sea, they acquired high positions and royal dignities. Ephorus says that Cresphontes divided Messenia into five commonwealths; he made Stenyclarus the royal residence, and sent governors to the four other commonwealths—to Pylus, to Rhium (on the east coast of the western peninsula), to Mesola (on the west coast of the peninsula of Taygetus), and to Hyamea (probably in the lower plain), that Dorians and Achæans, *i.e.* conquerors and conquered, might be under the same rule.[2] But as the Dorians were unfavourable to this, Cresphontes changed his mind, and united all the Dorians at Stenyclarus.[3] We may therefore conclude that the Dorians settled principally in the lands they had first conquered in the upper plain, around the abode of the king, and that the soil and territory of the other districts remained mostly in the hands of the ancient population. The division of the land into five departments, which is said to have taken place at one time, points rather to the probability that the four districts mentioned with Stenyclarus, viz. Mesola, Rhium, Hyamea, and the peninsula to

[1] Vol. i. p. 213.
[2] Steph. Byz. Μεσόλα, Ὑάμεια; Bursian, *Geograp.* 2, 159, 160.
[3] Strabo, p. 361.

which the name of Pylus especially belongs, were either conquered one after another from the plain of Stenyclarus, or acquired by treaty. We know that on the western peninsula Pylus and Methone remained in the hands of the Achæans as abodes of Periœci, and we may suppose that the conquest of the whole country had not been completely accomplished.[1]

Following the account of Ephorus, a fragment of Nicolaus proceeds as follows: "Cresphontes, after he had made his division, and allowed the Dorians and Achæans equal rights, repented, and considered that it was not just that the ancient inhabitants should be on the same footing with the Dorians. When he tried to remedy this he was blamed by both parties: by the Dorians because he had, without them, concluded treaties with the inhabitants of the country, and had accorded to the latter equal rights; and by the inhabitants of the country still more, for they foresaw that the existing condition of things would be changed. In order to preserve it they murdered Cresphontes, and wished also to put his sons to death. These sons were, with the wife of Cresphontes, at the house of her father, King Cypselus (vol. i. p. 212) at Trapezus, for the purpose of presenting an offering to Zeus Acræus. The murderers who were sent told the sons that their father desired them to return home, to offer a sacrifice which

[1] Pausan. 4, 23, 1. Had Pylus continued to be independent, the royal family and the nobility of that city would not have been obliged to migrate to Attica and Colophon. With regard to Oxythemis, the victor in the twelfth Olympiad, the epithet Κορωναῖος is not quite certain. If Κλεωναῖος in Philostratus were not much more probable,—if it were an established fact that the name of the city had at this time already been altered from Æpea to Corone,—in that case we might be justified in the inference that in the year 732 B.C. Corone was an independent Achæan commonwealth, and that the Dorians had not then pressed forward to the gulf, as Grote (*History of Greece*, 2, 453, n. 2) says. That Bœotia as yet took no part in the Olympic festival seems to me unquestionable.

he had vowed; and on the journey they killed them. But the wife of Cypselus had a third son born to her at Trapezus, named Æpytus, and he grew up with Cypselus in Arcadia.[1]" Pausanias, who gives a continuation of the mutilated fragment of Nicolaus, says that Cresphontes, with all his sons, except Æpytus, was slain by the rich, because he favoured the people, that is, no doubt, the Achæans. When Æpytus was grown up, Holæas, the son of Cypselus, took him back to Messenia; he was assisted by the kings of the Dorians, the sons of Aristodemus (of Sparta), and by Cisus, the son of Temenus of Argos. As soon as Æpytus became king he punished the murderers of his father, and those who had hired them. Men in high positions he won over to him by favours, and the people by gifts, and he became of such consequence that his descendants were not called Heraclidæ, but Æpytidæ.[2]

Very little historical matter can be derived from these narratives. The universal feature of dependence on Arcadia which we find, even before the conquest of Stenyclarus, in the connection of Cresphontes with Cypselus, who is called king of Basilis, or of the somewhat more northerly Trapezus, may have a historical basis; as also the favourable treatment of the Achæans, who were less hardly used here than elsewhere by the immigrant Dorians.[3] We must also regard the Æpytidæ, "who were no longer called Heraclidæ," as the historical royal family of the Dorians; Cresphontes was made to precede the Æpytids as one of the Hera-

[1] Nicol. Damasc. *Fragm.* 39.

[2] Pausan. 4, 3, 8; 8, 5, 6. Compare the somewhat different narratives concerning the mother and brothers of Æpytus in Apollodor. 2, 8, 4, and Hygin. *Fab.* 184, 187.

[3] At any rate, the Achæans of Pylus fought valiantly for the Messenians in the Messenian revolt.

clidæ, in the same way that Aristodemus precedes Agis and Eurypon, in order that the three Doric states of the Peloponnesus might be represented as conquered and founded by three brothers (vol. i. p. 216).

On the same presupposition is founded another version of the solidarity of the three Doric kingdoms, a pure invention, which we find in Pausanias' story of the restoration of the son of Cresphontes to the throne by the son of Temenus and the sons of Aristodemus. This story is further developed in the "Laws" into a sworn compact of the three kings and the three Doric tribes reciprocally to maintain each other in their rights and liberties.[1] The fiction in Isocrates is still more clearly exposed by its tendency. After the murder of their father by the godless Messenians, his children, escaping to Sparta, gave up the country to the Spartans, and besought vengeance for the murdered man. The Spartans asked counsel of the god, and, as he commanded them to take what was offered and to revenge those who had suffered wrong, Sparta conquered the Messenians and took possession of the country.[2]

In opposition to the statement of Pausanias that Æpytus, after he had been reinstated in the government of his father, attained to great consideration, Nicolaus tells us of many attempts against him which he had to repel. His house was set on fire, but he escaped from the incendiaries. Then ambushes were laid for him by the people. The same was the case with his successors, and the strife in Messenia was never-ending.[3] Pausanias gives the names of the successors of Æpytus thus: Glaucus, Isthmius, Dotadas, Sybotas, Phintas. He has little to say, however, of

[1] *Legg.* pp. 683, 684. [2] Vol. i. p. 201; *Archidam.* p. 120.
[3] *Fragm.* 39, *in fine.*

these princes, except that Glaucus commanded the Dorians to worship Zeus on the summit of Mount Ithome; that King Sybotas not only ordered them to offer an annual sacrifice to the river Pamisus, which watered Messenia so well, but before the festival of the great goddesses (*i.e.* Demeter and Core), at Andania, to pour libations to Eurytus, the ancient king of the neighbouring Œchalia;[1] lastly, that King Phintas sent a solemn embassy to Delos, there to sacrifice to Apollo and to sing a choice hymn. It is the less to be doubted that the Dorians undertook the sacrifice which the Achæans before them had offered to Zeus on the summit of Ithome, because we subsequently learn that in later times the Ithomæa were here annually celebrated to Zeus; moreover, in the first third of the eighth century, we find the princes and people of Messenia assembled at another sacrifice to Zeus, together with all the other cantons of the Peloponnesus and the Eleans, viz. the sacrifice at Olympia on the Alpheus. How zealously the Messenians took part in this common sacrifice since its institution in the year 776 B.C. — how vigorously the Dorians of Messenia exercised their bodily strength and activity, is proved by the fact that out of the first eleven contests, which followed the common Olympic sacrifice every fourth year, seven Messenians carried off the prize in the foot-race. It seems strange that the princes of Messenia should have participated not only in the sacrifice of the Ætolians of Elis, but also in that sacrifice which in spring the Ionians from both sides of the Ægean Sea

[1] Pausan. 4, 3, 9; 4, 33, 2; 3, 26, 6; Thucyd. 1, 103. The rites at Andania were renewed in 370 B.C., and the ritual was supposed to have been rediscovered there; Pausan. 4, 27, 8.

celebrated to Apollo on the rock of Delos, the central point of the Ionian race, after their settlements in the Cyclades and on the coasts of Asia Minor (vol. i. p. 279). But the statement is very precise. Contests of song, as at Delos, were held at the Ithomæan sacrifice, and Eumelus, the Bacchiad of Corinth, is said to have dictated to the sacrificial embassy sent by King Phintas to Delos the processional hymn, from which Pausanias quotes the following verse: "To Zeus Ithomatas the muse was always dear, who advances with pure and free steps." Pausanias at the same time asserts that this song is the only genuine fragment of the poems of Eumelus.[1] As Eumelus followed Archias to Sicily in 734 B.C., the embassy of Phintas must have been sent at latest about 740 B.C.; and, as in the year 735 the grandson of Phintas is said to have been reigning in Messenia, it most likely occurred about 750 B.C.

According to the tradition of the Messenians Phintas was succeeded by Antiochus. In his reign there was strife between the Spartans and Messenians. Ephorus relates that King Teleclus of Sparta (the conqueror of Amyclæ) had been killed at a sacrifice for which he had come into Messenia. Then the Spartans made war upon Messenia, and swore that they would not return home till they had conquered it.[2] We learn further that the Dorians of Messenia and Sparta used to bring common offerings to Artemis Limnatis in a temple standing on Messenian soil, on the western declivity of Mount Taygetus, on the upper course of the Nedon, and not far from the Spartan boundary.[3] On one of these occasions, so the Spartans maintained, the Mes-

[1] Pausan. 4, 33, 2; 4, 4, 4.
[2] Ap. Strab. p. 279; and also Diodor. 15, 66.
[3] Ross, *Reisen*, 1, 5-11, 23.

senians had violated Spartan maidens and slain King Teleclus. The Messenians, on the other hand, said that Teleclus wished to destroy the best men among the Messenians at the sacrifice, and to this end had disguised beardless Spartan youths in women's garments and provided them with daggers; the Messenians protected themselves, and in just self-defence slew Teleclus and the youths. The Spartans further asserted that the Messenians had not delivered up to them Polychares, who had killed one of the Spartans and injured their country. The Messenians replied that Polychares, in exchange for a certain portion of the increase of the herd, had agreed with the Spartan Euæphnus, his guest and friend, to pasture a herd of cattle on his meadows. The Spartan sold the cattle and then gave out that they had been stolen. When the treachery came to light through the herdsmen, Polychares summoned Euæphnus to Messenia and gained a suit against him. Euæphnus promised to make good the cattle, and Polychares therefore sent his son with him to Laconia, and here Euæphnus, instead of refunding the money, slew him. Polychares went to Sparta and complained to the authorities of what the man, whom he had trusted beyond all other Spartans, had done to him. His suit being refused, in spite of his prayers, he killed all the Spartans whom he met. The Spartan version of the story is that Polychares demanded that Euæphnus should be given up; this they had not refused, but had sent the son of Euæphnus to Sparta with a message that Polychares might bring his complaints before the king in that city. Polychares, however, had killed the messenger and made plundering expeditions into Laconia.[1]

[1] Diod. *Exc. Virt.* p. 548 = 8, 5.

Tradition further says that the Spartans demanded that Polychares should be given up, which the Messenians refused to do, on the ground that Euæphnus had not been surrendered to them. In the assembly of the Messenians there was a division of feeling. King Antiochus was against, his younger brother Androcles in favour of, the cession of Polychares; the strife became so violent that both parties flew to arms. But those who shared the opinion of Antiochus were far the more numerous; and Androcles with his principal adherents was killed. According to another version, the quarrel was not about the surrender of Polychares, but about the money which the Messenians were to pay to the Spartans as a reparation for the violence done to their maidens. Those who wished to pay the money were banished, and settled at Macistus in Triphylia.[1] In both versions the party which opposed the claims of the Spartans had the upper hand. Finally Antiochus offered the Spartans to let the matter be decided by the judgment of the confederation of Argos, which was as closely related to Sparta as to Messenia, or by the verdict of the Areopagus of Athens, which was concerned with cases of murder and bloodshed.[2]

A few months afterwards Antiochus died. His son Euphaes succeeded him, when the Lacedæmonians, who had prepared themselves secretly for battle under the guidance of their king, Alcamenes, fell by night upon the citadel of Amphea. The Messenians who held it were most of them killed in their sleep; a few escaped with their lives, by taking refuge at the altars of the gods. The Messenians flew to arms. For four years the Lacedæmonians made plundering incur-

[1] Strabo, p. 257. [2] Pausan. 4, 5, 2.

sions into their territory; and the Messenians devastated Laconia, ravaging the country on the sea-shore, and the agricultural district about Mount Taygetus. In the fifth year a battle was fought, in which the Messenians repulsed the attacks of the Lacedæmonians. After this King Alcamenes of Sparta died; and, in the sixth year of the war, his son Polydorus, and, as the representative of the line of Eurypon, Theopompus, son of Nicander, led the Spartans into the field. With them were the Dryopians, whom Eratus, king of Argos, "in the previous generation," had driven out from Asine, on the south coast of the peninsula of Argolis, because they had rebelled against King Phidon and joined the Spartans (*supra*, p. 27). They had found an abode and protection in Sparta. A great battle was fought, but the result was indecisive. After this battle, however, began the troubles of the Messenians; their slaves deserted to the Spartans, and a contagious sickness broke out. The Messenians resolved to abandon the smaller places, and to withdraw themselves wholly to Mount Ithome. Here the dogs howled, and the seers prophesied evil. The Messenians began to despair, when one of the elders advised that, since the future was known only to the gods, the oracle of Delphi should be consulted. The Pythia replied that a maiden, chosen by lot from the family of Æpytus, must be sacrificed to the infernal gods. "If it be impossible to offer up the one who is chosen by lot, offer one given voluntarily from this family."[1] The lot was cast among the maidens of the royal family. It fell upon the daughter of Lyciscus, the Æpytid. But the seer Epebolus raised the objection that the maiden was not of the race of Æpytus;

[1] Diodor. *Exc. Vat.* p. 6 = 8, 6; Pausan. 4, 9, 4.

her mother being childless had imposed her upon the father. Lyciscus went over with his daughter to the Spartans, and the Messenians were in still greater despair. Then Aristodemus, a man of the royal race, distinguished for the heroic deeds which he had already wrought against the Spartans, came forward and voluntarily offered his daughter as a sacrifice for the salvation of the land. The maiden's betrothed heard with dismay the words of her father. He rose to save his bride; her father, he said, had promised her to him, and had thus abandoned his parental right and transferred it to him: Aristodemus had no longer any power over the maiden. As his claim remained unheeded, he declared that the maiden was no longer a virgin, for she was already in fact the mother of his child. Then Aristodemus seized his sword, struck down his daughter and pierced her bosom to prove her purity. The sacrifice was offered; but Epebolus, the prophet, declared that the daughter of Aristodemus was murdered, and neither offered to the gods whom the Pythia had prescribed, nor in a proper manner. King Euphaes, however, succeeded in convincing the Messenians that the oracle of the god had been fulfilled, and the deed of Aristodemus sufficed.

In the thirteenth year of the war another great battle was fought. In his desire to strike down Theopompus, king of Sparta, Euphaes pressed far into the ranks of the enemy. Grievously wounded, he was borne by his followers from the terrible fight, which again remained undecided. Soon after King Euphaes died of his wounds. The Messenians, in gratitude to Aristodemus for the sacrifice of his daughter and for his heroism, raised him to the vacant

throne. The war was then carried on by plundering excursions at harvest-time on the part of the Messenians from Mount Ithome into Laconia, and similar raids by the Spartans. In the eighteenth year it was at last finished by a great battle. The Spartans came with their whole military strength, the Corinthians with theirs. To the help of the Messenians there came a body of Arcadians, under King Æchmis, and chosen warriors from Argos and Sicyon. Aristodemus took up a position on the declivity of Mount Ithome, placed a reserve in the gorges of the mountain, and gained a great and brilliant victory. Retreat was difficult for the Corinthians, whether they took the road through the hostile territory of Sicyon or of Argos.

Messenia, however, was finally overcome. The Pythian god promised, in an oracle which the Messenians had obtained, that the glory of the war and the Messenian land should be his who should first erect ten times ten tripods round the altar of Zeus on Mount Ithome. A Delphian informed the Spartans of this oracle. A Spartan named Œbalus of base descent and low rank, but of a crafty nature, immediately made a hundred small tripods of clay, put them into his wallet, and came with hunting-nets in his hand, among other country people, safely to the top of Mount Ithome. In the night he placed the tripods round about the altar, and slipped away unobserved. So the Spartans were beforehand with the Messenians. After this the sacrificial omens were unfavourable to the Messenians; rams butted with their horns against the altar, dogs collected together in packs, howled the whole night through like wolves, and ran over to the camp of the Spartans. Grass of the field sprang up

around the hearth of Aristodemus' paternal house, his daughter appeared to him in a dream in black garments, with her breast uncovered and displaying the wound, took from him his weapons, and threw over him a white shroud. Then the hero knew that he had sacrificed her in vain, and that the gods desired the fall of Messenia. On his daughter's grave he put an end to his own life. Provisions began to fail among the Messenians. An energetic sally cost them their best leaders and soldiers without repelling the besiegers. The resistance continued until, at length, towards the end of the twentieth year of the war, those Messenians who remained abandoned Mount Ithome.[1]

So runs the legend. The Hellenes never forgot that the Spartans had annihilated in Messenia a Hellenic commonwealth and a state of kindred race. The Spartans tried to palliate the charge by inventing claims upon Messenia, and accusing the Messenians of having brought about the war. When Messenia had been restored, not quite 350 years after its fall, the Messenians were able to contradict the accusations brought against them in the Spartan tradition more emphatically. The narrative before us received its form after this restoration. The Spartans maintained that they had been deceived when lots were cast for Argos, Laconia, and Messenia—the three conquered territories of the Peloponnesus. Cresphontes, they said, had thrown a lump of earth instead of a stone into the urn that was filled with water, and the lump being dissolved could not be drawn out. Thus the best country, Messenia, had become his share by deception. Afterwards, the Messenians had committed the crime of slaying the founder of their state,

[1] Pausan. 4, 12-14; 8, 5, 7; Plut. *De superstitione*, ch. 8.

the lord of the land. After the murder of Cresphontes and the elder sons, Æpytus gave over Messenia to Sparta, and this constituted their right to its possession.[1] Moreover, the Messenians had slain Teleclus at the sacrifice, had violated Spartan maidens, and refused to give up Polychares, who had murdered a Spartan, and had robbed and plundered the country. What the Messenians urged against such charges we have already seen. These legends may not be wholly fabulous: Polychares, at any rate, is a historical personage; in 764 B.C. he was victor in the Stadium at Olympia. And at the temple of Artemis Limnatis there may very likely have been border conflicts as soon as the Spartans became masters of the lower Eurotas; even in the time of Mummius and Tiberius Sparta and Messenia were disputing about the territory of Denthalii on the Nedon.[2]

The cause of the war was the ambition of Sparta. After the union Sparta had encroached towards the neighbouring districts of Arcadia; here, in the north-west, she had appropriated the territory of Ægys in the mountains; her borders were now not far from the chief city of Messenia.[3] Her great successes against the Achæans of Amyclæ and Helos were followed by victories in conjunction with the Eleans over the Pisatæ and Argos (*supra*, p. 28). The superior fruitfulness of Messenia attracted Sparta; the Dryopians, who had taken refuge in Laconia from the assaults of the Argives, had to be provided for, and, above all,

[1] Isocrat. *Archid.* p. 120.

[2] Inscription of Olympia, No. 16; Tacit. *Annal.* 4, 43.

[3] The conquest of Amphea, and the occupation of the fortress by Spartans, show that Ægys was in their hands before the Messenian war; tradition places the conquest of Ægys in the reigns of Charilaus and Archelaus; Pausan. 3, 2, 5; vol. i. p. 349.

the strife in the royal house of Messenia, and the fact that one of the pretenders to the throne and his party sought the help of Sparta—all this seemed to promise favourably for the attack. What tradition tells us of the quarrel of Antiochus with his brother Androcles, on the question of delivering up Polychares, and the satisfaction for the supposed outrages on the Spartan maidens, indicates the rising of a younger branch against the elder, the strife of a Laconian and anti-Laconian party. The decision of arms was against Androcles. But the circumstance that the Spartans after the victory assigned to his posterity and followers the territory of Hyamea,[1] which Ephorus enumerates among the districts of Messenia, is greatly in favour of the story. Messenians offered help to the Spartans against Messenia. The answer reported by Plutarch to have been made by King Polydorus to the question whether he would fight against his brethren, "I am rather making war upon the unallotted land,[2]" expresses most concisely the cause of the war.

The legends related above from Pausanias of the events of the war are taken from the Messenian history of Myron of Priene, whom Pausanias followed, though not implicitly; whereas the narrative of Diodorus, of which only some fragments are in existence, keeps more exactly to that of Myron, after giving the origin of the war in accordance with the statements of Ephorus.[3] It is at once evident how little connection

[1] Pausan. 4, 14, 2.

[2] *Apophtheg. Lacon.* p. 285 Dübner.

[3] The fragments at first show agreement with Strabo's account, taken from Ephorus; afterwards the version of the Spartans is clearly apparent in Diodorus' account of the story of Polychares, while Myron of Priene is entirely hostile to the Spartans; Athenæus, p. 657. The lengthy fragment (*Virt.* p. 548 = 8, 10) on this subject represents Aristomenes

there is in this narrative, interspersed as it is with oracles and miracles, which represents the Messenians as succumbing, not to the arms of the Spartans, but to their treachery, and the decree of the gods; and what contradictions are here to be found, side by side. Two battles remain undecided, and, after these, the Messenians give up their land and withdraw to Mount Ithome; they gain a great victory, the consequences of which are the blockade of the citadel of Ithome and its fall.

We know that in Sparta Alcamenes, the conqueror of Helos, was succeeded on the throne by Polydorus, and Nicander by Theopompus. The tradition represents the surprise and occupation of Amphea as taking place under the government of Alcamenes.[1] It must have been the Androclidæ who delivered up this city to the Spartans. Close to the extended border of Sparta, Amphea was at the same time not far from Stenyclarus, the chief town of Messenia. It was situated on a precipitous height to the east of Andania, and, once in the hands of the Spartans, cut off from the Messenians their connection with Arcadia. Though the citadel was difficult to scale, the plain which it overhung lay open to attacks from above.[2] The occupation of Amphea shows that it was not a mere predatory excursion or an extension of boundary that was aimed at by the Spartans; as the Dorians had conquered Argos from the Temenium, and Corinth from Solygeus, so Messenia was now to be conquered from Amphea.

as gaining the prize in the battle in the eighteenth year of the war; whereas Pausanias (4, 6, 1) objects to Myron that he transfers Aristomenes into the first war.

[1] Pausan. 4, 5, 9. That Spartan tradition did not contradict this is proved by the *Apophtheg. Lacon.* p. 216 Dübner.

[2] Bursian, *Geograph.* 2, 164, 165.

The taking of Amphea, which was the beginning of the war, may probably be fixed in the year 735 B.C.[1]

[1] Pausanias (4, 5, 10; 4, 13, 7) says that the first Messenian war lasted from *Olymp.* 9, 2 to *Olymp.* 14, 1 = 743 to 724 B.C. With this date for the beginning of the war, Eusebius agrees (*Olymp.* 9, 4 = 741 B.C.), and also Jerome (*Olymp.* 9, 2). The date given by Isocrates is earlier; he represents Archidamus as saying that Messenia had been 400 years under the dominion of Sparta; for 370 + 400 = 770 B.C. Dinarchus has the same statement (*c. Demosthen.* p. 99); in the four hundredth year, he says, Messenia was restored; Lycurgus (*c. Leocrat.* p. 155) says after 500 years. In decided contradiction to this, Plutarch (*Reg. apophtheg.* p. 194; *Epam.* 23) represents Epaminondas as saying that he restored Messenia after 230 years. According to this, the end of the first Messenian war would fall in the year 600 B.C. (370 + 230 B.C.). On what the calculation of Pausanias is based we do not know. It seems suspicious that the Spartans are said to have begun the war with Messenia immediately after they had given assistance to the Eleans against Phidon of Argos (745 B.C.) and the Pisatæ, and had reinstated them in the possession of Olympia. A further difficulty is, that the rebellion of the Parthenians, which was a result of the war, is thus removed by a considerable interval from the end of it, for Tarentum was founded in 707-6 B.C. (Jerome, *Olymp.* 18, 3); and another difficulty still more insuperable is, that in the tenth and eleventh Olympiads = 740 and 736 B.C. two Messenians are named as victors. Lastly, Pausanias says that King Theopompus, who chiefly led the Spartans in this war (3, 3, 2), and whom we know through Tyrtæus as the true hero of the struggle, was still living in 669 B.C., that is when the battle of Hysiæ was fought (Pausan. 2, 24, 8; 3, 7, 5), which would give him an impossible reign of seventy-four years (743-669 B.C.). In the year 736 B.C. the Messenians disappear from the list of victors at Olympia; for the year 716 B.C. Pythagoras the Laconian is mentioned as the first victor in the Stadium (the victory of Acanthus in the long course, 720 B.C., is not quite beyond suspicion); since, therefore, the evidence of Tyrtæus makes it certain that the war lasted twenty years, we can fix its commencement in 735 B.C., and its conclusion in 716 B.C. See Gilbert, *Studien*, p. 174 ff. The date of the second war is even more uncertain. Tyrtæus, in the second Messenian war, says "the fathers of our fathers took Ithome," that is, finished the first war. Pausanias places it thirty-eight years after the end of the first—namely, from *Olymp.* 23, 4, or 685 B.C. to *Olymp.* 28, 1, or 668 B.C., although he has the passage of Tyrtæus before him, and under its guidance seeks to find in the royal list of Sparta those kings who must have been the leaders of this war, and who are otherwise unknown to him. He takes from the list Anaxander and Anaxidamus, as belonging to the third generation after Polydorus and Theopompus. The third generation, however, contradicts his thirty-eight years very strongly; the statement of Tyrtæus requires an interval of at least seventy years. Pausanias himself also cancels his first computation by asserting that the Messenians returned 287 years after the taking of Eira. This

After Amphea had passed into the hands of the Spartans, the Messenians could no longer defend the plain of Stenyclarus against their attacks from thence, nor even maintain their chief city Andania, one of the principal seats of their worship, nor any of the upper portion of their country. This is proved by their retreat upon the temple of Zeus Ithomatas on Mount Ithome, the wooded height which, rising abruptly, overlooked both the northern plain as far as the mountains of Arcadia, and the plain to the south. The settlement of the Spartans at Amphea obliged their adversaries to fix themselves on Mount Ithome, opposite to that place, and thence to carry on the war for the possession of the upper plain. That the neighbouring

brings the end of the second war to the year 657 B.C. (370+287 B.C.); the beginning, if we suppose with Pausanias that it lasted seventeen years, would be in 674 B.C.; the interval between the first and second war is thus increased to fifty years. But the date 674-657 B.C. appears too early if, as Pausanias relates (4, 24, 2), Aristomenes wished to go from Rhodes to King Ardys of Lydia, or to Phraortes of Ecbatana. Ardys reigned from 653-617 B.C.; Phraortes, according to Herodotus, from 655-633 B.C. The emancipation of Media from Assyria did not take place before the year 640 B.C. Still less can we justify the calculation by reference to the four generations which, according to Pausanias (4, 24, 3), separate Aristomenes from Diagoras, the Olympic victor in 644 B.C. Trogus, who, as his story of the Parthenians shows, here follows Ephorus, places eighty years between the two wars. If we add to this that the Spartans in 669 B.C. were engaged in a severe struggle with Argos, that in 659 B.C. they suffered losses from the Phigaleans, that in 644 B.C. Pantaleon, king of the Pisatæ, wrested from the Eleans the Agonothesia at Olympia (Pausan. 6, 22, 2), which, in connection with the statements that the Pisatæ fought with the Messenians in the second Messenian war, and that King Pantaleon commanded the Pisatan army, places the rising of the Messenians in that period; if we further remember that the "floruit" of Tyrtæus is assigned to *Ol.* 35 or 640 B.C. (Suid. Τυρταῖος), that Eusebius places the defection of the Messenians in *Olymp.* 36, 3, or 634 B.C., and Jerome in *Olymp.* 36, 4, or 633 B.C., it will seem justifiable to give 645-631 B.C. as the date of the second war, which consequently took place seventy years after the first. Its seventeen years' duration, as asserted by Pausanias, cannot be upheld; for he speaks in detail of only three years' war, and of an eleven years' siege of Eira.

Arcadians assisted the Messenians we can scarcely doubt. Argos had previously assisted Helos, and that it now rendered aid to the Messenians is the less doubtful because Sparta's growing power in the interval had greatly injured Argos. It also corresponds with the attitude which Corinth assumed towards Argos that it should assist the Spartans, while the Dryopians in joining them sought to gain a new home, and the Androclidæ on the same side were striving to regain their home and throne. For the rest we must content ourselves with the verses of Tyrtæus, in which he says: "Through our king, Theopompus, beloved of the gods, we have conquered wide Messenia—Messenia good for husbandry and the cultivation of trees. For this land did the fathers of our fathers, the bearers of the lance, fight without ceasing for nineteen years, bravely enduring hardships; but in the twentieth year the foe abandoned the fertile acres, and fled from the lofty Ithomean mountains."[1] Pushed gradually back from the upper and lower plains, the armies of the Messenians were at last confined to the height of Ithome and there besieged. In what manner the surrender of the fortified summit was brought about we do not know. But as it is related that part of the Messenians, after the taking of Ithome, went forth under the guidance of Alcidamidas across the western sea to Rhegium, which the Chalcidians of Eubœa were beginning to found, we may conclude from this, and from the words of Tyrtæus, that the garrison of the citadel on Mount Ithome did not fall into the hands of the Spartans, but that a portion of the Messenians were able to leave the country, and did leave it. Messenians are also stated to have fled to Argos and

[1] *Fragm.* 5 Bergk.

Sicyon, and to the Arcadians.[1] A few small districts in the rugged and half-impassable mountains of the north-west of Messenia, on the boundaries of Arcadia, may have kept themselves independent of the dominion of Sparta.

The Spartans destroyed the fortifications on Mount Ithome, and out of the spoils of the war dedicated some brazen tripods in the temple of Apollo at Amyclæ.[2] The posterity and associates of Androcles, *i.e.* the party of the Messenians which before the outbreak and during the war had been on the side of Sparta, received rich compensation for their treachery to their countrymen: the territory of Hyamea in the lower plain[3] was assigned to them. The Dryopians who had been expelled from Argos by King Eratus were provided for in Messenia. They received a territory in the western peninsula of that country, on the coast of which they built a new Asine in place of the Asine they had lost on the shores of Argolis.[3] The fertile lands of the upper and lower plains were divided in equal shares among the members of the ruling class in Sparta; a division in which the families that had grown up in the meantime and the younger sons were first considered.[4] Those Messenians who had been taken

[1] Pausan. 4, 14, 1. Heraclides of Pontus simply says that Rhegium was built by the Chalcidians after they had received some exiled Messenians from the Peloponnesus (*Fragm.* 25). In Strabo (p. 257) it is the Messenians who fled to Macistus before the war, and before the taking of Ithome, to escape from the Laconism of their countrymen, who, at the command of Apollo, ally themselves with the Chalcidians. The party favourable to the claims of Sparta—that is, the party of the Androclidæ, fled, however, to Sparta and not to Macistus, and were then established by the Spartans in Messenia.

[2] Bursian, *Geographie*, 2, 160.

[3] Pausan. 4, 14, 3; *C.I.G.* No. 1193.

[4] That all Spartans (except the Parthenians) received allotments here is evident from the demand of the Parthenians for the fifth part of

prisoners or had remained behind in their country were not saved by their Doric blood from the same treatment that was inflicted by the Spartans on the Achæans who had refused to submit; they became Helots—that is, peasants and bondmen attached to the soil, and slaves of the Spartan landowners. "Like asses," says Tyrtæus, "they were oppressed with heavy burdens; under hard compulsion they delivered up to their lords the half of all the produce of the land, and when their lord died they and their wives were forced to mourn for him."[1]

Messenia (Ephorus ap. Strab. p. 280); while it follows from Aristotle's *Politics*, 5, 6, 2 = 1307 *a* 1, that all the families of the ruling class in the valley of the Eurotas did not at a subsequent period possess a second family estate in Messenia.

[1] *Fragm.* 6, 7 Bergk.

CHAPTER V.

SPARTA UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF POLYDORUS AND THEOPOMPUS.

After having been long confined to a narrow corner of a valley, Sparta, by the union of the two commonwealths, as settled by Lycurgus, had developed rapidly in the course of the eighth century. The Achæan districts on the lower Eurotas had been conquered, the menacing power of Argos disabled, the fertile lands of Messenia won. Sparta now ruled over the whole of the south of the broad island of Pelops. Her last great success, the annihilation of an allied commonwealth, she owed chiefly to her kings; to Polydorus, son of Alcamenes, of the house of Agis, and still more to Theopompus, son of Nicander, of the house of Eurypon. The war had broken out under Alcamenes, the conqueror of Helos, and Nicander, the opponent of Phidon;[1] Polydorus and Theopompus had by their obstinate persistence brought it to a successful termination; but the deeds of Theopompus had surpassed those of Polydorus. He was the hero of the Spartans in this war.[2]

[1] If Theopompus was really still living in 669 B.C. (*vide supra*, p. 69, note), a reign of sixty years must be assigned to him, even if he only ascended the throne in the course of the war, in the sixth year, as the tradition says, *i.e.* according to our calculation, 730 or 725 B.C.

[2] Pausan. 3, 3, 2; Tyrt. *Fragm.* 5 Bergk.

Such an important advance, which doubled the Spartan territory and endowed numerous families with lands and slaves in the newly-allotted country, gave these kings, even in regard to their domestic government and their position towards the ruling classes, new prestige and authority. The judicial power belonged to the kings. We have seen that after the establishment of the constitution of Lycurgus, they had associated with them the council of the Gerontes, who represented the clans, in cases of murder or where life and death were concerned. For the rest, the judicial authority of the kings was unlimited, not only over the Periœci, but also in regard to the family jurisdiction, and the rights of property of the Spartans. During the period of the first Messenian war the Kings Polydorus and Theopompus are said to have nominated representatives, who remained at home for the decision of judicial suits, while they were absent in the field.[1] Theopompus is named as the author[2] of this arrangement, but we nevertheless learn that the state seal subsequently used by the permanent board, to which these representative functions descended, bore the effigy of King Polydorus.[3] In place of the kings, their nominees had to decide disputes about property; from their appellation of Ephors, it is clear that they had a controlling authority, *i.e.* they were magistrates of police. The executive and judicial power are not separated in the simpler conditions of society. But we are ignorant whether this authority of the Ephors extended to the Periœci and the Helots, or was confined to the Spartans; and whether it was of a universal

[1] Plut. *Cleomen.* 10.

[2] Plato, *Laws*, 692; Aristot. *Pol.* 5, 9, 1 = 1313 *a* 26; Plut. *Lyc.* 7.

[3] Pausan. 3, 11, 2, 10.

or limited kind. The court of the Ephors was, at any rate subsequently, in the agora. They were the nominees of the kings, and had, doubtless, to exercise the same amount of judicial power and superintendence as the kings in the discharge of their office. As these Ephors had arisen out of the growing extent and business of the state, they were naturally an institution dependent on the kings, and representing them in certain cases. As the kings could be represented in the Gerousia (vol. i. pp. 387, 388), so they nominated for other portions of their duties Ephors, by whom they might be relieved whenever they thought good, if only the two reigning kings were in agreement with each other.[1]

[1] Herodotus mentions the Ephorate among the ordinances of Lycurgus (Herod. 1, 65), a mistake arising from the conception that Lycurgus created all the Spartan institutions. The notion in Plato (*Laws, l. c.*) and Aristotle (*Pol. l. c.*) that Theopompus introduced the Ephorate in order to restrain the royal power, is derived from the position which Chilon afterwards gave to the Ephors, and which they actually maintained after his reform had been put in force. The answer which Theopompus is said to have made to his wife when she reproached him with weakening the kingly authority, is a fiction arising from the same conception which underlies the statement of Aristotle. To attribute to the kings who altered the rhetra of Lycurgus under the authority of the Delphic god, and for the good of the monarchy, the voluntary weakening of the royal power is a contradiction which I cannot understand. The first president of the Ephors is said to have been Elatus. Eusebius places the introduction of these officers in 757 B.C., Jerome in 756 B.C.; the latter with the additional remark that the kings had previously ruled for 350 years. Eusebius has the same observation on *Olymp.* 1, 1 = 776 B.C., "Before that the kings of Lacedæmon had reigned for 350 years, and the kings of Corinth; but henceforth 'annui principes' were instituted." Eusebius accordingly considers the Ephorate in Sparta and the Prytany in Corinth as similar and contemporary institutions; but prytanies are not certainly known to have existed in Corinth before 745 B.C. In the *Exc. barb.* (Euseb. *Chron.* 1, 218 Sch.) there is this passage: *Simul reges Lacedæmoniorum permanserunt in regno 350 annos et Lacedæmoniorum regnum dissipatum est*—that is, the chronographers no longer reckoned by the reigns of the Spartan kings, but from the beginning of the Olympiads; they had likewise a tendency to represent the introduction of Prytanes in Corinth, of Archons in Athens, and

The constitution provided that the community of the ruling class should meet from month to month, and that they should decide upon the plans of the kings and the Gerousia: "with the people (that is, with the assembled ruling class) the decision and power shall rest." So runs the rhetra of Lycurgus. Polydorus and Theopompus added to this a second ordinance, as follows: "When, however, the people decides perversely, the elders (*i.e.* the Gerousia) and the chief leaders (*i.e.* the kings) shall reverse their decision."[1] The Delphic god confirmed this rhetra also. Thus the sovereignty was again withdrawn from the ruling class, and given, not indeed to the kings alone, but to the kings and the Gerousia. This addition to the constitution empowered the kings and the Gerousia to maintain and carry out schemes which the assembly of the ruling class had rejected; the kings and the council were now able to bring into effect any decision on which they concurred, and presented to the assembly, even if the assembly discarded it. When in agreement, the kings and the Gerousia had the power of explaining every refusal displeasing to themselves as a perverse decision.

Relying on its great successes the double monarchy,

Ephors in Sparta as nearly contemporaneous. The observation of Eusebius as to the commencement of the Ephorate in 776 B.C., or twenty years later, therefore proves nothing either for or against the fact. It is certainly possible that the Spartans may have early begun to chronicle the names of their Ephors (Polyb. 12, 11, 12); but it is the less probable that they did so, because the office could not at first have seemed very important, and was not subject to an annual election. For the rest, the dates in Eusebius and Jerome (757 and 756 B.C.) carry us beyond their date for the beginning of the Messenian war (*supra*, p. 69, note). We can only say with certainty that the institution dates from the time of Polydorus and Theopompus, that the reign of Theopompus did not commence in any case before 730 or 725 B.C., and that of Polydorus very little earlier, since his father Alcamenes took Amphea.

[1] Plut. *Lyc.* 6.

united in itself and united with the Gerousia, had again withdrawn the ultimate sanction from the community. Though the entire harmony of the two kings might not have been always easy to attain, and certainly appeared in the highest degree doubtful after Polydorus and Theopompus; though, even supposing the kings to be agreed, their agreement with the Gerousia must often have been questionable—this was, nevertheless, a supremely important change in the constitution. The rights of the nobility were essentially limited. Once more they were in the same position as in ancient times, when the decisions of the king and the Gerontes were merely published and explained. It is true that the choice of the Gerontes rested with the community, or rather with the family association, the representative of which had died, but it was seldom enough that a family was in a position to exercise this right; a representative, when once he had been elected, retained his seat in the supreme council among the twenty-eight till his death. This state of things in the Spartan constitution about the year 640 B.C. is described by Tyrtæus in the following words: "From Phœbus' lips at Pytho they brought home oracles of the god, and the word that never fails. Let the kings, divine in honour, be first in the council—they who watch over Sparta's lovely city; and with them the venerable Gerontes; and after them let the men of the people speak each to the other, replying with righteous speech. Fair things shall be spoken, and all shall be done justly, and crooked councils shall not be in this city; then shall victory and might lead forth the people. Such is the word of Phœbus to this commonwealth."[1]

[1] *Fragm.* 4 Bergk.

All members of the ruling class were not agreed as to the increase of the kingly power and of the Gerousia. A further modification of the existing conditions led to open discord and rebellion. According to the ancient law the son inherited the rank of his father, and the son of a free man and of a slave mother was himself free.[1] Not merely the increased pride of the ruling class after the victorious war with Messenia, but the larger number of the Periœci under the rule of Sparta after the subjugation of Messenia, and the consequent necessity of exercising stricter supervision over them in order to maintain that rule, tended to limit marriages with Achæan women. Membership in the ruling class was made to depend on the descent of both parents; henceforward he only could be a member of the community whose father and mother were both full citizens; those Spartans who were born of marriages with Achæan women had no lands allotted to them in Messenia;[2] with the loss of rights of citizenship the right of inheritance in the old family estates, the lands in the valley of the Eurotas, was also lost.

Antiochus of Syracuse writes as follows: "In Sparta," he says, "those who had not served in the army in the Messenian war were made slaves and called Helots; the children born during the war were called Parthenians, and were excluded from the rights of citizens. This the Parthenians, of whom there were many, would not endure, and formed a conspiracy against the commonwealth. When this was discovered, persons who professed similar opinions were sent

1 *Vide* the ancient *Odyssey*, 14, 201 ff, and vol. i. p. 468.

2 This follows from the demand of the Parthenians for the fifth part of Messenia.

among them to find out their designs. It was agreed that when, during the feast of the Hyacinthia, just as the games were beginning, Phalanthus, the head of the conspiracy, should put on his cap (κυνῆ), the conspirators should fall upon the citizens, who were known by their long hair. But when the time arrived the herald, at the commencement of the games, came forward and said that Phalanthus was not to put on his cap. Then the conspirators knew that their plot was betrayed, and fled or took refuge at the altars."

The narrative of Ephorus in the extracts given by Strabo is this: "When the Lacedæmonians were at war with the Messenians, they swore that they would return home the conquerors of Messenia or perish. In the tenth year of the war their women sent a message to the camp that Sparta was in want of men. As the men were obliged to keep their oath, they sent the youths who, at the beginning of the war, were not grown up, and had therefore been left at home, and were free from this oath, with instructions to unite themselves with the maidens. The children born to them were called Parthenians. In the twentieth year of the war, when Messenia had been taken and the Spartans returned, they would not give the Parthenians equal rights with the rest, because they were not born in wedlock. So the Parthenians made common cause with the Helots, and determined to rebel as soon as the signal should be given by the raising of a Laconian hat in the market-place. Some of the Helots betrayed the conspiracy; but it was seen that it was dangerous to oppose them, for they were numerous, and so entirely of one mind that they called each other brothers. Those who were to have given the signal were commanded to leave the market-place. The Parthenians

kept quietly at home when they saw that their design was betrayed."[1]

The story is given somewhat differently in Theopompus. The Spartans were afraid that their adversaries might become aware of their scarcity of men, so many of them having fallen in the Messenian war. They therefore sent some Helots to replace these fallen Spartans with their wives. Subsequently, these were made citizens and called Epeunacti. Diodorus says that the Epeunacti conspired with Phalanthus to rise, as soon as he should enter the market-place armed, and should pull down his cap (κυνῆ) upon his forehead. This was betrayed by some one to the Ephors. Most of them were of opinion that Phalanthus should be struck down; but Agathiades, who loved Phalanthus, told them that they would bring Sparta thereby into the most deplorable discord,—for if they kept the upper hand they would have gained a ruinous victory, and if they were conquered they would have annihilated Sparta. He advised that they should make this proclamation by a herald: "Phalanthus shall leave his cap where it is." This being done, the Parthenians desisted from their rebellion and dispersed.[2] The account is simpler in the extracts from Heraclides of Pontus. "When the Lacedemonians were at war with Messenia," we are there told, "the women bore certain children, concerning whom their fathers entertained a suspicion that they were not their own, and therefore

[1] Strabo, pp. 278, 279. The statement of Diodorus, 15, 66, agrees with Ephorus. The narratives in Polybius (12, 5), Dionysius (xvii. *Fragm.* 1), and Justin (3, 4) are almost the same; but they represent the Spartans who were sent home as having intercourse with women and maidens. Justin consistently makes the insurrection take place only when the Parthenians were thirty years old (having had time to grow up), and because they had no lands of their own.

[2] Theop. *Fragm.* 190 M; Diod. *Exc. Virt.* p. 550 = 8, 21.

called them Parthenians." The latter were angry at this. "In aristocracies and oligarchies," says Aristotle, "divisions arise because few have a share in public offices; this is mostly the case where the mass of those who are haughtily treated is equal in capability to their rulers, as were in Lacedæmon the so-called Parthenians (for they were the sons of citizens), whose plots were discovered."[1]

The tradition of the Spartans had an interest in concealing that a laxer marriage code had once prevailed among them. Herein lie the motives of the legend, which veils a serious internal quarrel, and the origin and causes of this are sought to be explained and determined by the different versions in different ways. As this quarrel broke out not long after the end of the Messenian war, and the exclusion from the allotment of lands in Messenia was the proximate cause, it was easy to ascribe the origin of it to the Messenian war—for which an analogy could be found in a similar occurrence among the Ozolian Locrians. The story of Ephorus, whom later writers generally follow, in order to separate the Spartans for twenty years from their wives, represents them as swearing not to return home till Messenia had been conquered. Is it credible that the Spartans, in a war with their nearest neighbours, could have remained for twenty years without visiting their wives and children, their houses and homes? We have seen, moreover (*supra*, p. 68), how this war was carried on by the Spartans from Amphea, *i.e.* from the Spartan border. If the soldiers of Sparta were thus taken from their homes, their wives could only have borne children to those who had not gone to the war, as in Antiochus, or to

[1] Heracl. Pont. xxvi. M; Arist. *Polit.* 5, 6, 1 = 1306 *b* 29.

Helots who were allowed to replace the fallen Spartans, as in Theopompus, or to youths sent back from the army who had not taken the oath, as in Ephorus. The extract from Ephorus in Strabo consistently represents these latter as having intercourse with the Spartan maidens only, to explain the name Parthenians; leaving the complaints of the women, preferred, according to Ephorus, in their own name, as well as in that of the maidens, unnoticed — an omission which is supplied by the narratives of Polybius, Dionysius, and Diodorus (*supra*, p. 81, note).

We must hold to the names Epeunacti and Parthenians, and to the account of Aristotle. Those might be called Epeunacti who were born in wedlock, but not in legal wedlock; and those Parthenians, *i.e.* children of maidens, who were born before legal marriage or without it. Aristotle says that the Parthenians were the sons of full citizens, therefore it is only the legality of the marriages from which they sprang that could be disputed; and we shall certainly not err in connecting this dispute with the introduction of the marriage laws, from that time observed in Sparta, which only recognised marriages as valid between male and female citizens, between Spartan men and Spartan women. The aristocracy, in their efforts to maintain the purest blood, and therewith the better sort of the ruling class, soon required that there should be descent not only from a privileged father, but also from a mother of equal rank. Moreover, in Sparta the ruling class consisted of conquerors, the subject class of the conquered; to admit women of the latter class, especially Messenian-Doric women, into the class of rulers, must naturally have seemed hazardous, and could not be allowed. Marriage between Spartans and women who were not

Spartans was forbidden. To ensure the observance of this new marriage law, it was ordained that it should at once be recognised in the distribution of the newly-conquered lands; only those persons who were descended from lawful marriages, not from marriages between Spartan men and Achæan women, should have allotments in Messenia. By this means, a retrospective power was given to the new edict, existing marriages between Spartans and Achæan wives were declared invalid, the children of them, who consequently became illegitimate, received no land in Messenia, and were, moreover, excluded from full civil rights—that is, from voting in the assembly of nobles, and from inheriting family estates.

We can easily understand that the excluded persons, who must have been numerous, did not suffer themselves to be injured, oppressed, and deprived of rights without resistance; many of the fathers among the nobility, who were still living, did not patiently see their sons by their Achæan wives disinherited, and those sons sought and found support, if not among the Helots, yet with the Achæan Periœci, to whose position they were now degraded. The share of the Achæans in the insurrection is very apparent. At the Hyacinthia at Amyclæ—that is, at the festival adopted from the Achæans—the outbreak was to take place; the lifting of an Achæan cap (κυνῆ, πῖλος) was to be the signal. As the Parthenians at that time celebrated the Hyacinthia, we may consider these circumstances as well attested.[1] We may further regard it as certain that the plan was betrayed, and the design of falling that day upon the kings, the Gerontes, and the hostile citizens who held to the kings, was frustrated. There

[1] Polyb. 8, 30.

was, however, an insurrection, which the Spartan tradition tries as far as possible to conceal. The rebels demanded that a fifth part of Messenia should be allotted to them. In Ephorus we read that the Parthenians had been persuaded by their fathers to migrate, but on condition that in case they found no suitable place for a colony, they not only had a right to return, but that the fifth part of Messenia should then be allotted to them. Dionysius says that the Parthenians were beaten, and then voluntarily departed from the community. Pausanias tells us that King Polydorus died a violent death—being slain by a man of very honourable family in Sparta. The Spartans gave great honour to Polydorus, but Polemarchus also, his murderer, received a monument in Sparta.[1] From this we see that the Spartans lost their king, Polydorus, in battle with the Parthenians and the Achæans, who had joined them, that they gained some advantage over the rebels, but could not entirely subdue them, and agreed to a settlement by treaty. Polydorus was regarded as the saviour of Sparta;[2] his memory was highly reverenced; the house which he had inhabited was purchased from his widow; and he received a statue in the city. If his adversary, by whose hand he fell, likewise had a monument in Sparta, he must have slain Polydorus in honourable warfare; the greater was the reverence of the Spartans for Polydorus, the less would they have tolerated a monument (Pausanias saw it himself) to a regicide. Diodorus says that the Parthenians had sent messengers to inquire at Delphi whether the god would grant them the territory of the Sicyonians for their abode. This question shows how strongly the Achæans had sympathised with the Par-

[1] Pausan. 3, 3, 2, 3. [2] Pausan. 8, 52, 2.

thenians in the rebellion; for they sought their new home in the neighbourhood of the free Achæans, on the Corinthian Gulf between Sicyon and the Achæan Pellene. The Pythia replied, "Fair is the land between Corinth and Sicyon, but thou shalt not colonise it, even wert thou all bronze. Think on Satyrion and the clear water of the Taras, and the harbour of Scæum, and where the salt wave kisses the goat (τράγος), moistening the ends of his gray beard." And when the messengers did not understand the oracle, it spoke more plainly: "Satyrion have I granted thee to colonise, and the fertile territory of the Taras, and to become the destruction of the Iapygians."

The Parthenians took ship, in obedience, it is said, to this oracle, and in pursuance of the agreement which guaranteed to them, in case of failure, the fifth part of Messenia. Achæans had made settlements on the Italian coast not very long before. Emigrants from the district of Bura, on the shore of the Corinthian Gulf, had arrived in the deep bay which divides the south-west coast of Italy into two tongues of land, and between the mouth of the Crathis and the river Sybaris had founded the town of the latter name (720 B.C.).[1] Here the most fruitful flats bordered on the sea; above, on the mountains, were magnificent pastures and forests, the tops of whose trees were overrun with vines; while sheep and cattle abounded. These advantages soon caused the first immigrants to be followed to that coast by their Achæan countrymen from Ægæ, under the leadership of Myscellus, who founded Croton, south-

[1] Scymn. Ch. ℌ58. The city was destroyed in 510 B.C., and had existed for 210 years. Eusebius fixes the founding of Sybaris and Croton in *Olymp.* 18, 1, or 708 B.C. Sybaris was called from the spring of that name at Bura, Strabo, p. 386.

ward of the mouth of the Crathis, on the Æsarus, and not far from the Lacinian promontory (710 B.C.).[1] The Parthenians pursued the same course. They landed at the mouth of the Taras, and close to the sea saw a fig-tree overgrown by a vine, a hanging trail of which (ἐπίτραγος) touched the water. Then they thought they had found the goat (τράγος),[2] whose beard, according to the divine oracle, was wetted by the sea. Here they remained, conquered the Iapygians, and built the city which they named after the river Taras. It was in the year 707 B.C. that the Parthenians and the Achæans, who emigrated with them, founded the city of Taras. Its inhabitants were even in later times called Amyclæans, and the Galæsus, a coast river in the neighbourhood, received the name of the Eurotas. Purely Doric memories were also preserved among the settlers, who called one gate of their city Temenus.[3] If the Spartan emigrants had not found the alliance which they sought with the Achæans on the Corinthian Gulf, they had followed their course to the westward, and had settled down opposite them upon the same coast.

Sparta had happily escaped a very grave danger. Polydorus had fallen in battle, but his fall had at least snatched the victory from the Parthenians and made possible the treaty with them; perhaps the Pythia may also have assisted in other ways. The dissatisfied portion of the ruling class and the most hostile section of the Achæans were sent far away; while the kings,

[1] Strabo, pp. 262, 387; Diod. *Exc. Vatic.* pp. 8, 9 = 8, 17; Dionys. Halic. 2, 59; *Olymp.* 17, 3, or 710 B.C.

[2] According to Pausanias (4, 20, 2) the Messenians called a particular species of fig-tree, τράγος. [Cp. the word τραγᾶν.]

[3] Diod. *Exc. Virt.* p. 550 = 8, 21; Dionys. Halic. xvii. *Fragm.* 2; Dionys. *Perieg.* 376; Polyb. 8, 30, 35.

Theopompus and Eurycrates (who succeeded Polydorus in the family of Agis), seem to have considered wars with neighbouring states the best means of repairing the evils of internal discord, securing forgetfulness of their consequences, and the consolidation of the ruling class. There was still a considerable territory in the south of the Peloponnesus which did not obey Sparta; and the whole of the east coast beyond Mount Parnon, as far as Cape Malea, together with the island of Cythera, belonged to the kings of Argos. Against Argos Sparta directed her next hostilities, in order to extend her sway over the whole of the southern Peloponnesus. Fortune was ultimately unfavourable to the Spartans, though at first, they seem to have gained some brilliant victories. We hear of a great battle with the Argives, fought in the territory of Argos northwards, on the road from Tegea to Argos, in the pass of Hysiæ, 669 B.C.,[1] in which the Spartans were defeated. The monuments erected by the Argives to their countrymen who fell in this victory were seen by Pausanias between Cenchreæ and Hysiæ. He observes that King Theopompus no longer himself went out to battle, being advanced in age, and full of grief for the death of his son and heir Archidamus. If Tegea lay in the rear of the Spartans when they fought at Hysiæ, and the battle took place on the road from Tegea to Argos, it follows that Sparta at that time must have been at war not only with the Argives, but also with the Arcadians. Polyænus tells us that the Spartans had once occupied Tegea, and that Acues laid a scheme for taking the city treacherously by night, *i.e.* through an understanding with the Tegeatæ. He commanded his hoplites, on their entrance into the

[1] Pausan. 2, 24, 8 (3, 7, 5); *Olymp.* 27, 4, or 669 B.C.

place, to kill all persons who asked for the watchword. The Tegeatæ did not ask, but the Spartans, who could not recognise one another in the darkness, did so, and were struck down.[1] We may perhaps place the date of this event immediately after the defeat of the Spartans at Hysiæ; already masters of Tegea, they may have had to give up that place in consequence of this defeat. Acues, who carried out this plot for the surprise of Tegea in concert with the Tegeatæ, must have been the contemporary king of Argos, the successor of Eratus. This combination is supported by another tradition. We learn that the Argives were enraged with one of their kings, because, after they had suffered many things with him in the war against the Lacedæmonians, and had reconquered the territories of the Arcadians, he had restored the subjugated lands to the dispossessed inhabitants, instead of dividing them among the Argives. The commonwealth rebelled against their king and assaulted him. He fled to Tegea, and there lived among the Tegeatæ, to whom he had done good service, and who held him in honour. This anonymous king must have been Acues.[2]

On their northern frontier also, fortune was unfavourable to the Spartans. The Pisatæ had again risen against the Eleans, when the latter were at war with the Achæans of Dyme, and in their stead had offered the great sacrifice at Olympia a year after the battle of Hysiæ (668 B.C.); since which the Eleans had been obliged to concede to the Pisatæ equal rights and an equal share in this sacrifice and the management

1 Polyæn. 1, 11; vol. i. p. 317, note 2; Unger, in *Philol.*, 1867, p. 369 ff.

2 Diod. *Exc. Escor.* in Müller, *Fragm. Hist.* 2, p. viii.; vol. i. p. 317, note 2.

of the Olympic games. But, besides all this, the Spartans had themselves suffered a defeat from a place of small importance in Arcadia. Ten years after the battle of Hysiæ, they succeeded in conquering the Phigaleans, with whom other Arcadians were allied, and besieging them in their city (659 B.C.). When Phigalia was on the point of surrender the inhabitants escaped, or were allowed to withdraw by the Lacedæmonians. These exiles with the help of their neighbours, the Oresthasians, were subsequently able to overpower the garrison left in Phigalia by the Spartans, and to reconquer their territory.[1]

Since the middle of the seventh century, however, the Spartans had once more gained considerable successes. Besides the district of Ægys, which had been taken from the Arcadians before the war with Messenia, they conquered or possessed in the north towards Tegea the territories of Belmina, Sciris, and Caryæ, and had compelled the Sciritæ to become Periœci. In another direction they made an important advance by wresting from the Argives the whole of the east coast beyond Mount Parnon, about the middle of the seventh century. The ancient Doric towns of Bœæ, the southern Epidaurus, Zarex, and Prasiæ, which belonged to the Argive federation, the land of the Cynurians northwards beyond Prasiæ, and southwards to Cape Malea, together with the island of Cythera, broke their alliance with Argos, and passed from under her dominion to that of Sparta.[2] Again,

[1] Pausan. 8, 39, 3, 4; *Olymp.* 30, 2 = 659 B.C.

[2] Cythera was in the hands of Sparta about the year 600 B.C. The conquest of the east coast must no doubt have preceded that of Cythera; in the sixth century the only fighting was about Thyrea. The Nauplians were driven out from Argos before the second Messenian war, on account of their having taken the side of Sparta. Therefore Sparta must doubt-

as in the time of Phidon, the Spartans found allies in the territory of Argos. Then the Dryopians had taken their part, now the Achæans of Nauplia rose against the Argives. Damocratidas, king of Argos (no doubt the successor of the dethroned Acues), punished the rebellion of the Nauplians as King Eratus had punished that of the Asinæans. The Nauplians were forced to leave the country (about 650 B.C.), and took refuge in Sparta.[1] Nauplia, like Prasiæ, belonged to the ancient sacrificial league of Calauria, into which Argos was admitted for Nauplia, and Sparta for Prasiæ.[2] Whether in the newly-acquired territories lands were again allotted to the families of the ruling class in Sparta we do not know. In regard to the small and unproductive mountain districts towards Arcadia this is the more improbable, as the Periœci of Sciris afterwards formed a separate division of the Spartan army, and the relations of Sparta to Tegea certainly continued hostile for a hundred years. The harbours on the eastern coast were designated in later times as communities of the Periœci.

This long series of ultimately successful wars which enabled the Spartans considerably to diminish the territory of the Argives, to deprive them of their supremacy, and to push forward their own boundaries in the direction of Tegea, undoubtedly gave Sparta experience and practice in warfare, and to her army,

less have acquired the east coast of the country southward from Thyrea before that war. In Aristotle we read that the Spartans were a long while away from home, carrying on war with Argos, and afterwards with the Arcadians and Messenians (*Pol.* 2, 6, 8 = 1270 *a* 2).

[1] Pausan. 4, 24, 4; 4, 35, 2. Pausanias says at the end of the second Messenian war the Nauplians, shortly before expelled by the Argives, received Mothone. If the second war lies between 645 and 631 B.C. (*supra*, p. 69, note). Damocratidas cannot have taken Nauplia before 650 B.C.

[2] Strabo, p. 374.

the arrangement of which is ascribed to Timomachus (vol. i. p. 412), those fixed forms which distinguished it from the armies of all the other cantons. Irregular fighting was replaced by the simultaneous attack of compact bodies in concert with one another. The Spartans boasted that they had invented this method of warfare, and had substituted the powerful onslaught of infantry in close array armed with shields and long lances, for the ancient tactics of the Hellenes, who used the round shield and short lance, which was either thrown, or used in the hand. The three hundred chosen soldiers (they were selected from among the young men between twenty and thirty)[1] who surrounded the king and were called the three hundred knights, no longer appear on horseback, but as infantry. The arrangement of the Spartan army, the single command of the king, the rapid despatch of directions from the general to the meanest soldier, the manner of encamping, the regularity which reigned in their camps, found recognition and admiration throughout Hellas. "With but few exceptions," says Thucydides, "the army of the Spartans consists of the leaders of leaders."[2] It was their custom when taking the field to adorn their helmets with garlands, and in battle to put on red shirts with their armour.[3] They took anxious care to secure the favour of the gods for their arms. Before an expedition their kings sacrificed to Zeus Hagetor, *i.e.* to Zeus the leader. If the omens were favourable fire was taken from this sacrifice, and all sacrificial fires during the expedition were lighted with it. Before passing the boundaries of Sparta or of a hostile territory sacrifices were offered; if the

[1] Herod. 1, 67; Xenoph. *Lac. Resp.* 4, 3; vol. i. p. 386.
[2] Thucyd. 5, 66. [3] Aristot. *Fragm.* 60 M, 499 B.

course of the expedition were northwards, this took place in the temple of Artemis at Caryæ, in the oak-wood called Scotitas. While in the field the king offered sacrifices every morning at dawn of day; before a battle he sacrificed a goat to Artemis Agrotera. The seers carefully examined the signs, especially the livers of the animals sacrificed; in the last-mentioned case, it was only when these signs were favourable that the king would give orders for the attack.[1]

With what zeal and success the Spartans, since the conquest of Messenia, had studied the training of their bodies to strength, swiftness, and activity, we see from the long list of prizes taken by Spartans in the Olympic games, from the year 716 B.C. to the end of the seventh century. The state also provided that the youth of the ruling class should be rendered strong and capable of endurance; while the delight felt by all Hellenes in bodily strength and beauty must inevitably have assumed a severer and more warlike character, in the midst of a commonwealth whose internal and external organisation were alike directed to military supremacy.

In August, the very height of summer, the Spartans celebrated to Apollo Carneus the festival of the Carnea. He was regarded by the Dorians as the deity who had brought them to the island of Pelops, and had here been the leader of their expeditions. The festival, which occupied nine days, had a warlike character. Nine tents were pitched, in each of which lay nine men. The priest of Apollo Carneus, as *ἀγήτωρ*, headed the procession and conducted the sacrifice which, as in the camp, began after the proclamation of a herald.[2] In the year 665 B.C. the *γυμνοπαιδίαι*, or boys' exercises,

[1] Herod. 9, 61, 62; Plut. *Lyc.* 22; Xenoph. *l. c.* 13, 2.
[2] Athenæus, p. 141.

were added to this festival.[1] Youths and boys had to perform choric dances and to sing choric songs, to dance the war-dance or Pyrrhic measure, which was taught even to the younger boys, and other dances which imitated the movements of boxing and wrestling.[2] In the sultry heat of August the entire youth of the ruling class had to exhibit their agility, courage, and strength—their gymnastic and athletic capacity in the presence of the kings, the Gerontes, and the assembled community. Ten years before the gymnopædiæ, *i.e.* the competition of the youths in dancing, singing, and athletics were introduced at the Carnea, a formal trial of skill for the panegyrics of the singers had been instituted at that festival, instead of the invocations which were sung to the god at all sacrifices. An Æolian, Terpander of Lesbos, on the first occasion is said to have carried off the prize for the best invocation (about the year 674 B.C.).[3] The same singer afterwards gained the victory four consecutive times with his hymns at the great sacrifice which was offered to Apollo at Delphi every eighth year; this Plutarch asserts, on the authority of the catalogue of the victors in the Pythian contests.[4] "Once when the Spartans were at strife," says a fragment of Diodorus, "a message from the oracle informed them that they would be reconciled, if the cithara of Terpander were heard among them;" he accordingly sang them a beautiful song to that instrument, and the harmony of the ode set them at peace again. "At the command of the god," we read

[1] Euseb. *Chron. Olymp.* 28, 3 = 665.

[2] Xenoph. *Hellen.* 6, 4, 16; Plut. *Agesil.* 29; Platon. *Legg.* p. 633; Athenæus, pp. 630, 631.

[3] Athenæus, p. 635; *Olymp.* 26 = 676 B.C.; consequently between 676 and 673 B.C.

[4] Plut. *De Musica*, c. 4.

in Zenobius, "the Spartans, during some internal dissensions, sent for Terpander from Lesbos; he came, harmonised their spirits with his music, and put an end to the dispute."[1] We learn, moreover, that Terpander arranged the music of the Spartans; which means that he was the first in the list of Sparta's musical teachers,[2] and fixed the modes—that is, the tones of the cithara. The Parian marble observes, in the year 645 B.C.: "Terpander, son of Dardanus the Lesbian, taught modes to the citharists, and changed the music that had before been in use;"[3] which, no doubt, refers to his activity in Sparta.

A new rhythm, a new accompaniment, and new forms were given by Terpander to the hymn (which, through the influence of the Homeric poetry, had fallen into an epic style), to the religious lyric songs of the Greeks, and to the invocation and praise of the gods. After the pattern of the Lydian πήκτις or lyre he substituted the seven-stringed cithara for the same instrument with four strings hitherto employed by the Greeks; and side by side with the hymn extended and improved the choric song. He consequently became the founder of the religious music and song of the Hellenes. The higher tones of the Lydian lyre, introduced through the medium of his cithara, were of great advantage to their stringed music. This new cithara enabled him also to follow more artistic measures of verse in the hymn, and to give different strophes to the choric song. Variety could now be introduced into the songs and strophes sung to the gods at their altars; the several stages of worship—invocation, contempla-

[1] Tzetz. *Hist.* I. 16; Zenob. 5, 9.

[2] Plut. *l. c.* The observation of Athenæus, p. 628, also refers to a triple regulation of the music of Sparta.

[3] *Ep.* 34.

tion, adoration—could be expressed in distinct poetic metres and musical modes. In particular, the invention of the νόμος ὄρθιος, a solemn theme with sustained harmonies, is ascribed to Terpander. If not the author, he is, at any rate, the first representative of a new phase of Greek poetry which, in contrast to the simpler views of the Epos, aspired to a deeper and more serious conception of the nature of the gods, and to the elevation of the heart in worship.

The scanty remains which have been preserved of Terpander's poetry are characterised by a slow ponderous measure and a sober, lofty tone. "Leaving the four-stringed song," he himself is represented as saying; "let us tune new hymns to the seven-stringed cithara." "Zeus, the beginning of all, the leader of all—Zeus, to thee I send this beginning of hymns." Not the last or least of his hymns was due to the god who had bestowed upon the rocky valleys of his home the fairest of gifts—the best of wine. Terpander first celebrated Dionysus as the son of Zeus and Persephone, and then the slaying of the god by the Titans and his new birth. After having regulated the music of Sparta he could sing of this, his new country, in the following words: "Here flourishes the lance of the youth, the clear-voiced Muse, and far-ruling law which protects good works."[1]

The Spartans held Terpander in grateful remembrance. He must have known how to give eloquent and worthy expression in his songs to pious emotion, to magnanimous thoughts and dispositions, to valour and courage. On Alcman's testimony we learn that in Sparta "lovely harp-playing went forth against iron,"[2] *i.e.* the Spartans went to battle amidst the tones of the

[1] Terpand. *Fragm.* 1-4 Bergk. [2] *Fragm.* 35 [14] Bergk.

cithara; and Pindar indicates that the Castoreum, a march in honour of Castor, was played on the Æolian strings of the seven-stringed cithara, *i.e.* on Terpander's cithara.[1] At the musical contests in Sparta it was the custom, in honour of Terpander,[2] to inquire by

[1] Pind. *Pyth.* 2, 127, and the *Scholia.*

[2] Aristotle, in the Λακεδαιμονίων πολίτεια, *Frag.* 502 B, and Plutarch *De sera numin. vind.* 13. For the date of Terpander we must turn to Plutarch's description of him, *l. c.*: Τέρπανδρος ὁ παλαιός, to Athenæus' account of Terpander's victory in the first musical contest at the Carnea (676-673 B.C.), and the statement of the Marmor Parium, which goes back to the year 645 B.C. To this period both Jerome and Syncellus assign Terpander. Jerome says, *Olymp.* 35, 1 = 640 B.C.: *Terpander musicus insignis habetur;* the revolt of the Messenians, according to him, occurred in 635 B.C., *Olymp.* 36, 1: *Messana a Lacedæmoniorum societate discedit.* If we take 676 and 645 B.C. as the limits of Terpander's activity, the four-and-twenty years required by his four victories at Delphi would fall between these dates. If 645 B.C. be the ἀκμή, his birth must certainly be placed in 685 B.C.; but even were anything authentic known of him at the beginning of the third century, this could only be the time when he regulated the music of Sparta, and why should we not suppose it to have taken place towards the end of his life? With this would agree the statement of Hellanicus that Terpander was born in the time of Midas, *i.e.* of the Midas who died in 696 B.C.; he was therefore born about 710 B.C., and lived till about 640 B.C.: Clement, *Strom.* 1, p. 397, 398. Phanias of Eresus calls him younger than Archilochus (Clement, *Strom. l. c.*). He was regarded as older by others besides Hellanicus (Plut. *De Musica*, 4, 4). The strife in Lacedæmon, which he is said to have terminated, does not help us much. If we refer it to the rebellion of the Parthenians this quarrel was not adjusted, and Terpander must in that case have been born at latest in 740 B.C.; if we suppose it to be the Messenian revolt, Aristotle tells us that this was quelled by Tyrtæus. It is incredible that the oracle should have commanded the Spartans in the second Messenian war to invite two singers to Sparta—Terpander and Tyrtæus. We must, therefore, leave undecided the question as to what strife is meant in the case of Terpander. The story of a conflict being terminated by a singer is of frequent recurrence, and in this case is the more suspicious, since the period of the struggle is never once indicated, though the incident is mentioned five or six times. The taking away of Terpander's cithara by the Ephors (Plut. *Inst. Lacon.* 17) is an absurd fiction, standing in evident contradiction to his arrangement of the Spartan music; not to mention that the Ephors in 645 B.C. did not as yet exercise any control over manners. The story evidently arose from the circumstance that Terpander's cithara was preserved and held in honourable remembrance at Sparta.

proclamation whether any singer from Lesbos were present, that he might make trial of his skill before all others; and this is the origin of the proverb, "After the singer of Lesbos."

CHAPTER VI.

THE ÆOLIANS AND DORIANS ON THE ISLANDS AND COASTS OF THE ÆGEAN SEA.

UNDER the princes of the house of Penthilus, Mytilene, the oldest colony of the Achæans in Lesbos, had become the capital of the island, had conquered the land of the Teucrians, and occupied it with Lesbian settlements. At what time and in what manner the dominion of the Penthilidæ came to an end is nowhere stated, but we may infer from two meagre notices that the nobles of Lesbos did not get possession of the reins of government without some struggles and reverses. When Aristotle relates that at one time any Lesbian who met a member of the royal house was exposed to ill-usage, we may conclude that at some particular period the Penthilidæ sought to maintain themselves by cruel and violent means against those whom they regarded as hostile. The result of such conduct had been that Megacles and his brother had organised a conspiracy against the Penthilidæ and massacred them. Nevertheless we afterwards find a king of this house at the head of Mytilene, bearing the name of his tribal ancestor, Penthilus. He struck a man called Smerdis, as we are told by Aristotle, and was murdered by him in revenge for the insult.[1] Even

[1] Arist. *Pol.* 5, 8, 13 = 1311 *b* 29. We might be disposed to assign this event, on account of the name Smerdis, to a later period; but Aristotle

after the loss of the royal dignity the house of the Penthilidæ was respected and honoured in Mytilene.[1]

Of the form of government instituted by the nobles of Mytilene we know nothing; but all that has been preserved of the hymns and choric songs of the Lesbian singers in the first half of the seventh century shows that magnanimity of character, piety, and valour were cultivated and esteemed among them. Half a century later, not only pride and magnanimity, but also arrogant and unbending haughtiness, with contempt for the base-minded multitude, found full expression in the songs of another poet of Lesbos. From these songs we see that the Lesbian nobles looked down disdainfully on those who were descended from "base fathers," and ate "in darkness" by night—that is, did not share with noble companions the pleasures of the feast and of the cup in the torch-lighted hall (vol. i. p. 476). The nobles of Lesbos loved drinking—the wine of the island was of a peculiarly excellent kind. Terpander had extolled the fair gift of Dionysus and the god who gave it. Arion of Methymna, the successor of Terpander, and the greatest Hellenic citharist in the second half of the sixth century, as Terpander had been in the first, still further developed the worship of Dionysus. He introduced choric songs at the sacrifices offered to this god, and was the inventor of the chorus, whose more extended use was to lead Greek poetry to new achievements. As Terpander had found the chief sphere of his activity not in Lesbos, but at Sparta, so Arion trained his choruses in Corinth, at a distance from his home. In Lesbos the singers of the hymn

reckons it among the attacks upon monarchs, not upon tyrants, and it is certain that the monarchy no longer existed in Lesbos in 630 B.C.

[1] Diogen. Laert. 1, 81.

and of the chorus were succeeded by poets of a different character, who employed the measures of the hymn for the expression of their individual feelings and moods, and brought lyric poetry into the region of political struggles and the emotions of the heart.

If we know little concerning the fall of the royal house at Lesbos, our information is just as scanty in regard to the overthrow of the princely dominion in Cyme. The date at which the government here became an aristocracy instead of a monarchy may be fixed soon after the reign of Agamemnon (vol. i. p. 238), about the year 700 B.C. Of the form of the aristocratic constitution, we only know from a solitary and fragmentary statement of Aristotle that at Cyme the first magistrate bore the title of Æsymnete;[1] while from another notice we learn that the officials, in whose hands lay the chief authority and jurisdiction, were distinguished from the nobles, who were merely members of council by the name of *βασιλεῖς*, or kings.[2] To exemplify the ancient laws of Cyme, we are told that in trials for murder a certain number of witnesses from the family of the victim sufficed to condemn the accused, and that in cases of theft the neighbours of the injured person were required to make restitution to him.[4] A wife convicted of unchastity was carried into the market-place, and there set upon a stone as a disgrace; she was then led through the whole city on an ass, and was

[1] *Vide* the *Scholia* on Eurip. *Medea*, 19 [Arist. *Frag.* 481 B.]. On the other hand, the argument to the *Œdip. Tyrann.* of Sophocles says —and this in accordance with the Κυμαίων πολιτεία of Aristotle—that the tyrants at Cyme were called Æsymnetes. As Aristotle in the *Politics* described the Æsymnety as an elective tyranny—that is, a quite peculiar kind; and Æsymnetes are also found in Teos as regular officials (*C.I.G.* No. 3044), the statement of the *Scholia* must be accepted.

[2] Plut. *Quæst. Græc.* 2. [3] Aristot. *Pol.* 2, 5, 12 = 1269 *a* 1.

[4] Heracl. Pont. 11, 4.

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finally declared upon the same stone to have lost all rights and honours for the rest of her life.[1] Another political institution of which we are informed points to a period when the nobles believed themselves threatened either by some of their own number or by the claims on the part of the lower classes, and the council considered it necessary to exercise a sharp control, combined with immediate execution of punishment, over the highest functionaries. There was in Cyme, it is said, an official called the warden, who at certain times, when the council assembled by night, entered the chamber, seized the kings by the hand, led them out, and detained them until the assembly of nobles had decided by ballot with concealed voting pebbles whether or not they had done any wrong.[2]

For how long a period the nobles of Cyme succeeded, by institutions of this kind, in preserving the solidarity of their order and maintaining its interests, is uncertain; we only know that, in spite of them, the struggling population obtained land side by side with the families and descendants of the first colonists, and that concessions were made by these families to their claims. Their privileges were at first irrespective of descent. All who were in a position to maintain a war-horse and to render knightly service received the full rights of a noble or citizen. A Cymæan, named Phidon, is stated to have been the author of this new ordinance. A further change in the constitution was made at a later time. At the instance of Prometheus, an energetic man and a skilful orator, the government was committed to a select thousand—that is, to a supreme council of a thousand of the wealthiest citizens. We cannot determine the date of this altera-

[1] Plut. *Quæst. Græc.* 2. [2] Plut. *l. c.*

tion, but it must have been effected soon after the middle of the seventh century. In the hands of this council of a thousand the government of Cyme remained till the period when the generals of Cyrus subjugated the cities of the Greeks.[1] Notwithstanding the meagreness of these notices, which sum up our whole knowledge of the political life of Cyme, we can perceive that a steady and conservative spirit predominated in this city. Ephorus praises the law-abiding disposition and behaviour of his countrymen.[2] It may have been this conservative character of the Cymæans which gave them a reputation for simplicity among their compatriots. In proof of it we are told that they only began to levy toll in their harbour 300 years after the founding of their city. Not till then, it is said, did the Cymæans observe that they inhabited a city on the sea.[3]

In the settlements of the Dorians and Achæans in Crete—at Cnossus, Gortyn, and Lyctus, the monarchical form of government seems to have existed till about 700 B.C.[4] Afterwards the nobility ruled: functionaries chosen by the assemblies of rulers, *i.e.* by the nobility, and called cosmi, or orderers, were placed at the head of the cities. Eligibility for this office was restricted to certain families. To the senate of elders the Gerousia, which was filled up from the retiring cosmi, and could depose them, the cosmi were themselves responsible. On these officers devolved the command of the army; with the council of the Gerontes they

[1] Heracl. Pont. *Fragm.* 11, 5. The narrative of Herodotus (1, 159 ff) of the events in Cyme at the surrender of Pactyas gives no data for the constitution prevailing there at that time.

[2] *Vide* Steph. Byz. Βοιωτία. [3] Strabo, p. 622.

[4] In Axus, near Cnossus, at any rate, Etearchus was still reigning at this period; Herod. 4, 154.

guided the commonwealth; judicial matters were the province of the Gerousia alone. The Gerontes retained their office for life,[1] and were responsible to none. They and the cosmi, we are told, had to pronounce sentence and to govern the state, not according to written laws, but to the best of their judgment. The resolutions arrived at by the cosmi—who, at least in later times, were ten in number—and by the Gerousia were laid before the community of rulers for their assent. But they possessed, according to Aristotle, no decisive authority. "The worst thing of all," he continues, "is the insubordination of the great men, which frequently comes into play, when they refuse to give account of their dealings. But very often some of the cosmi, or some who have held other offices, or even persons from the ruling class, band together, and deprive the cosmi of their office. From this it is clear that such a constitution is not a commonwealth, but a dynastic aristocracy. Their custom is to attach one portion of the people to themselves, and, supported by these and their adherents, to exercise royal power, to rise against each other, and fight with one another. But what difference is there between this temporary annihilation of the constitution and the destruction of political community."[2]

These statements clearly prove that in Crete the monarchy was replaced by closely oligarchical constitutions, which restricted the rights of the whole corporation of the governing class, the assembly of the commonwealth, to the election of cosmi, who were, moreover, to be chosen from the oldest or wealthiest

[1] The annual election of officers "after the fashion of democracy" (Polyb. 6, 46) belongs to a later time.

[2] Aristot. *Pol.* 2, 7, 6 *sqq.* = 1272 *b* 2; Ephorus ap. Strab. pp. 481-484.

noble families, and after their term of office entered the Gerousia. To this council of the noblest families the cosmi were responsible, while, at the same time, it exercised judicial functions at discretion. Though the quarrels of the cosmi with each other and with the Gerousia, their refusals to render an account of their office, and the insignificance of the body, which was the result of rebellions and wars, may belong to a later period, and though they may only have been introduced when the position of the Greek cities was secured in the island, the system from which they sprang was a narrow oligarchy—the rule of families belonging to certain dynasties over communities of nobles. The strongest proof of the permanence of these ancient ordinances is given by Aristotle when, in speaking of the contests among the dynastic families, he says that the general communities, in spite of the exclusion of their members from office and from the right of decision, made no attempt to alter the constitution, and that the Perioeci always remained in submission. This latter evidence carries the more weight when we remember the oppressed condition of the Perioeci in the territories of the cities, and the slavery in which another portion of the former inhabitants were kept, partly as slaves of the state, and partly as serfs on the farms and estates of the ruling class (vol. i. p. 425). The ancient character of the Cretan institutions is also shown by certain other indications, among which may be reckoned the employment of the old alphabet down to the middle of the fifth century B.C.

The Greek cities in Crete did not form any commonwealth. Cnossus, Gortyn, and Lyctus were quite independent of one another. Cnossus seems first to have attained pre-eminence among them; and

here the peculiarly Cretan institutions are said to have originated.[1] Ephorus, however, observes that the ancient laws of Crete were maintained to a greater extent in Gortyn and Lyctus than at Cnossus; and we read in Plato's *Laws* that Gortyn, at the period when that work was written, enjoyed the highest consideration of all the Cretan cities.[2] Lastly, Polybius maintains that by general agreement the best warriors in all Crete were born and bred at Lyctus.[3] If the Greeks of the fourth century, in spite of what Aristotle tells us about the deficiencies in the Cretan constitution and the violent party conflicts in the cities, speak with admiration of the Cretan institutions, the reason must lie in the fact that, after the exhausting civil wars of the fifth century, they began to look favourably upon conservative regulations. In their eyes some power of that kind was inherent, not only in the constitution of Sparta, but also in the ancient institutions of Crete, which would not otherwise have been preserved for so long a time. For those institutions required common meals, and the common bringing up of children—rules of life which were binding, not on individuals only, but on the families of the governing classes—and the continual discipline and training of their youth for war (vol. i. p. 426). When Athens had experienced the fluctuations and storms of democracy, conservative ideas were at a premium. Plato recognised in the institutions of Sparta and of the Cretan cities an approach to his pattern state. Aristotle, regarding things more dispassionately, explained the continuance

[1] Platon. *Minos*, p. 319; *Legg.* 624.

[2] Ap. Strab. p. 481 [and 476]; *Legg.* p. 708.

[3] Polyb. 4, 54. "Concerning Cretan affairs," says Diodorus (5, 80), with good reason, "almost all writers contradict one another."

of the ancient Cretan institutions as the result of the isolated situation of these cities.

The fortunes of the island of Rhodes in this period are, except for a few uncertain side-lights, almost unknown to us. Soon after the year 700 B.C. Lindus, following the course of the Chalcidians and Corinthians, was in a position to found a city on the southern coast of Sicily. Emigrants from Telus, an island adjacent to Rhodes, and from Crete joined the expedition, which was commanded by Antiphemus the Rhodian, and Entimus the Cretan. At the mouth of the river Gelas, in the year 690 B.C., they laid the foundations of the citadel of Lindii, around which the city of Gela afterwards grew up.[1] The worship of the bull Zeus —Zeus Atabyrius—was carried by the settlers from their old home to the new; the device of Gela on her coinage is the fore part of a bull with the head of a man. At Ialysus, in Rhodes, the kingdom of the Eratidæ (vol. i. p. 327) was in existence at any rate after the middle of the seventh century; Damagetus, then prince of Ialysus, is said to have married the daughter of Aristomenes,[2] the leader in the Messenian revolt, who, after bringing Sparta into great peril, had sought refuge in Rhodes. From this marriage sprang Dorieus, the father of Damagetus, whose descendant Diagoras carried off so many prizes in all the great games of the Hellenes during the second quarter of the fifth century.[3] After the commencement of the trade with Egypt the three cities of Rhodes occupied themselves zealously with it. The Homeric catalogue

[1] Thucyd. 6, 4, forty-four years after Syracuse; Holm, *Gesch. Siciliens*, 1, 135, 392; Euseb. *Chron.*: Anno Abrah. 1326 = *Olymp.* 22, 3 = 690 B.C.

[2] Pausan. 4, 24, 3.

[3] Pind. *Olymp.* 7, 145 *sqq.*; Pausan. 6, 7, 1.

of ships, dating from the second half of the seventh century (vol. i. p. 455, note 1), attributes to this island immense riches.[1] We meet with mercenaries of Ialysus among the soldiers of Psammetichus the Second in the inscriptions at Abusimbel (*Hist. of Ant.* vol. iii. p. 399). In the sixth century the government of the cities of Rhodes was, as far as we can see, in the hands of the aristocracy, among whom the posterity of the ancient royal families were still regarded with peculiar respect. At any rate there are indications in Ialysus that the Eratidæ, to whom Diagoras was related, enjoyed some such distinction.[2]

The worship of the Phœnician sun-god had been found by the Greeks in Rhodes, and was by them zealously practised (vol. i. p. 325). According to the various aspects of the Phœnician god, they had recognised in the Baal-Moloch of Mount Tabor their Zeus or Cronos (vol. i. p. 432), in Baal-Samin their Apollo, in Baal-Semes their Helios, to whom the island was consecrated; and finally, they had translated Baal-Melkart into the form of their Heracles. In the midst of these cults and myths Pisander of Camirus undertook, about the middle of the seventh century,[3] to sing the deeds of Heracles Melkart in an epic. He described the twelve labours of Heracles, corresponding to the twelve signs of the Zodiac—that is, the overcoming of the twelve celestial signs which oppose Melkart in his course. He placed the skin of the lion around the shoulders of Heracles,[4] for the lion was the Phœnician symbol of the god—the symbol of heat; the conquest of the lion is the quenching of the fiery glow. The

[1] *Il.* 2, 670. [2] Pindar, *Olymp.* 7, 170 *sqq.*
[3] Suidas, Πείσανδρος: κατὰ τὴν λά Ὀλυμπιάδα = 648 B.C.
[4] Strabo, p. 688; Pisandr. *Fragm.* 5-10 Dübner.

Homeric and Hesiodic poems had given Greek armour to the hero; the former had endowed him with the courage of a lion, the sword-belt and the bow (from which he sent the arrows of the sun-god—the bright rays); the latter with the full equipment of a Greek hero.[1]

The oppression of the Phœnician cities, especially Tyre, through the advance of the kings of Assyria westward, and their expeditions into Syria during the ninth and eighth centuries, was favourable, as we have seen, to the progress of Greek colonisation in Cyprus. When King Sargon had reduced Syria as far as the borders of Egypt to entire subjection, seven kings of Cypriote cities did homage to the great soldier prince of the Assyrians at Babylon, in the year 709 B.C.; and in token of this extension of his dominion over Cyprus, King Sargon had his statue erected at Cittium, the ancient capital of the island. It is certain that among these seven kings of Cyprus were some princes of Greek cities. Asarhaddon, king of Assyria (681 to 668 B.C.), mentions by name the princes of Cyprus who obeyed him in the year 673 B.C. He enumerates ten kings; one name, however, that of the prince of Salamis, has dropped out of the cylinder on which they are inscribed. The rest are as follows, and among the number are undoubtedly four Greeks: Eteander (Ituandar),[2] king of Paphos (Pappa); Damasus (Damasu), king of Curium (Kuri); Ægisthus (Ikistusu), king of Idalion (Idial); Pythagoras or Pylagoras (Pisauguru, Piluguru), king of Chytri

[1] *Scutum Herc.* 122 *sqq.*

[2] The name of Eteander is also found on a bracelet [Cesnola's *Cyprus*, p. 306], and in later inscriptions of the island; No. 2 in M. Schmidt.

(Kitrusi). The remaining royal cities are Soli (Sillu), Tamassus (Tamisu), Limenia (Limini), Aphrodisium (Apridisu), and Neo-Amathus (Amti-chadasi, *i.e.* new fortress). Cittium, the chief city, is not mentioned.[1] The princes of Cyprus like those of Syria were required to furnish materials and adornment for the palaces built by Asarhaddon. His successor Assurbanipal gives us the names of these princes as vassals who did homage to him.[2]

From these lists we see that the monarchical government continued to exist in Cyprus not only in the cities of the Phœnicians, but also in those of the Greeks; and that in the first half of the seventh century the Greek communities in the island were equal in power and importance to those of the ancient inhabitants, if indeed they had not already gained the superiority. The Phœnicians continued to exist not only in independent but also in subject cities, as is proved by coins of the island which bear Phœnician legends. The Hellenic element must have gained in importance and power, when after the fall of the Assyrian kingdom (607 B.C.) the Phœnician cities on the Syrian coast were vainly endeavouring to maintain their independence against the Babylonian power which was superseding Assyria in their direction; when their efforts to throw off the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar failed; when even Tyre after a long resistance was forced to submit, while the island of Cyprus still remained free from the dominion of Babylon.

Among the Greeks of Cyprus, as on the mainland, Epic poetry was cultivated and developed. A great poem dating from the second half of the seventh century is said to have been sung by a Greek of Cyprus, by

[1] *Hist. of Ant.* 3, 153. [2] *Hist. of Ant.* 3, 161, 162.

Stasinus or Hegesinus of Salamis, *i.e.* the Cyprian town of that name.[1] It is possible, however, that the title of this poem, the "Cypria," or the Cyprian Iliad, may have caused it to be attributed to Cyprus. Aphrodite, the goddess of Cyprus, is the central point on which it turns. It supplemented the Iliad; for it undertook to show how the war originated. It first narrates the strife of the three goddesses for the prize of beauty. To obtain a favourable verdict, Aphrodite has promised Paris, the fairest of mortal men, to bestow on him the love of the most beautiful of mortal women: at her command he builds the ship which is to convey him to Menelaus. In other lays this new introduction then carries on the story to the commencement of the Homeric Iliad. But how far it is from attaining the excellence of the Homeric poetry will be shown farther on (*infra*, chapter 14).

[1] Phot. *Cod.* 239 [p. 319 B.]; Athenæus, p. 682. That the *Cypria* were composed before the year 600 B.C. is evident from the representation of the judgment of Paris on the chest of Cypselus.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ARISTOCRACY IN ATTICA.

THOSE portions of the peninsula which had been unaffected by the conquests and migrations, or had been the objects of merely isolated attacks, had sent larger or smaller bodies to join the emigrants. Phocis, Arcadia, Ætolia, and Locris continued in the ancient seclusion of their cantons and valleys, or, at most, attained to a very slight degree of organisation. Even in the conquered cantons the unity of the new government was not absolutely maintained. In Thessaly, after the fall of the monarchy, the rule of one supreme will gave place to assemblies of the nobles, which met but seldom; the commonwealth of the Arnæans in Bœotia seems first to have received a settled form through the efforts and energy of the nobles of Thebes; among the new commonwealths in the Peloponnesus the Achæans were divided into twelve communities; the Dorians settled in territories which had already formed the domains of the conquered cities; and Messenia was subjugated at a very early period. Argos was unable to maintain its rule over its wide extent of subject territory; after the middle of the seventh century it was still the head of a federation, without, however, forming a great and highly organised commonwealth. Only on the Eurotas had the Dorians succeeded in establishing a distinct territorial common-

wealth; and the Eleans found themselves obliged to maintain the unity of their state by force of arms against the Pisatæ. That which in Thessaly, Sparta, and Elis was the result of conquest, and which was due to the despotic rule of an immigrant nobility compelled to maintain by force its authority over the conquered, had already been introduced into Attica before the migrations as the product of a natural development. A warlike and princely family in Athens, setting out from the Cecropia and the plain on the Ilissus, had united the territories of Eleusis and Marathon, and the pastures of the southern mountains under their dominion. The unity of Attica was dependent neither on the rule of one family over a subject-population of another race, nor on the dominion of one tract of territory over the rest.

It was the boast of the Athenians that they were not a horde of immigrant settlers, but the original inhabitants of their country; and that they had always been able to defend their soil, and to maintain their freedom and independence.[1] And their boast was true, for the early union of Attica, the territory south of Mount Cithæron had, as we have seen, not only caused the destruction of the Phœnician stations and broken the Phœnician power on its eastern and western coasts, but had also withstood the storms of the migrations, and checked their waves at its borders. Attica had been the first place of refuge for the dispossessed tribes of the north and south—the Pelasgiotes, the Minyæ, the Cadmeans, the Achæans of Pylus, and the Ionians from the shore of the Corinthian Gulf. The princes of the family under which Attica had once

[1] Pericles ap. Thucyd. 2, 36; Isocrat. *Panegyr.* 24; Eurip. *Fragm.* 362, 7 N.

become united seem to have shown themselves unequal to the task of defending her in such troublous times; and a family of Pylus, which had sought refuge in Attica, was therefore raised to the throne. The advance of the Arnæans from Bœotia, and of the Dorians from the isthmus was repelled during the reigns of Melanthus and Codrus. Subsequently, when the numbers of Ionian fugitives became too great for Attica to maintain, they were led out by members of this royal house to colonise the Cyclades and the opposite coasts of the Ægean Sea.

The Attic princes of the house of Melanthus, the descendants of Codrus and his son Medon, were surrounded by families whose reputation was based on ancient descent, on the knowledge of sacred usages, on deeds of valour in war and skill in arms, and whose number had been increased under their rule by fugitive noble families from Thessaly, Bœotia, and Pylus. Only a portion of these had again quitted Attica with the Ionian emigrants. Among the original and indigenous families of the commonwealth which had formed itself around the Cecropia, one of the most prominent was that of the Butadæ, whose ancestor was Butes, the brother of Erechtheus. An altar of Butes stood in the Erechtheum.[1] To him was ascribed the art of guiding the plough and driving oxen; and his descendants, the family of the Butadæ, superintended the Erechtheum, and appointed the priestess of Athena Polias the protector of the city: only maidens of this family could fill the office.[2] The Butadæ led the procession

[1] Pausan. 1, 26, 6, and the inscription on one of the seats of the theatre: ἱερέως βούτου.

[2] *Schol.* Æschin. *De mal. gesta. leg.* 147; Suidas, Harpocrat. Βούτης; Apollodor. 3, 14, 8; 3, 15, 1.

of the priestess of Athena, the priest of Poseidon, and the priest of Apollo at the Scirophoria—the festival of Athena.[1] Side by side with the Butadæ stood the Buzygæ, the descendants of Buzyges—that is, the yoker of oxen. On them devolved the care of the sacred plough and of the oxen with which every year in autumn, in the month Mæmacterion (October-November), the sacred field under the citadel was ploughed; they seem to have been at once the custodians and priests of the Palladium, the temple of Pallas to the south-east of the city on the Ilissus, the foundation of which dates from the union of the southern territory with the Cecropia (vol. i. p. 114). The ancient seated statue of Pallas in the Palladium (in the wooden statue of the Erechtheum the goddess was standing) is said to have been brought from Ilium.[2] To the family of the Praxiergidæ belonged the guardianship of the statue of Pallas in the Erechtheum, and the cleansing of that temple; the Phytalidæ had to superintend the worship of Zeus Meilichius, the propitiated Zeus—that is, to see to the fulfilment of all the purifications and expiations. Their tribal ancestor, Phytalus, had received the wandering Demeter, and purified Theseus from the blood of the robbers whom he had slain on the isthmus (vol. i. p. 106).[3] The Hesychidæ were responsible for the worship of the venerable deities the Erinnyes, on the Areopagus; the Centriadæ had to drive the ox to the place of sacrifice at the Diipolia, or festival of Zeus Polieus, *i.e.* Zeus, the protector of the city; the Thaulonidæ had to slay

1 Harpocrat. Σκίρον.

2 *Supra*, vol. i. p. 241; *C.I.G.* No. 491; Plut. *Præc. Conjug.* 42; Hesych. Βουζύγης; Philologus, 22, 262 ff.

3 Pausan. 1, 37, 2; Plut. *Alcib.* 34; *Thes.* 12.

the ox before the altar.[1] The tribe of the Ceryces and the Daduchi, *i.e.* the heralds and torch-bearers, claimed to be descended from Hermes, the herald of heaven, and Aglaurus, the daughter of Cecrops (according to another version Triptolemus was their progenitor); this family had to fulfil certain traditional customs in the worship of Demeter;[2] the Lycomidæ had to sing certain ancient hymns at her sacrifices, which possessed the inherent power of securing the favour of the goddess; the Pamphidæ knew and sang ancient invocations, composed by their ancestor Pamphus, to Zeus, Artemis, Poseidon, and Demeter.[3] Among the oldest families also were reckoned the Dædalids, who traced their pedigree to Dædalus, and, still farther back, to Hephæstus, the father of all art,[4] whose forefathers had once wrested the government from the Erechthidæ, according to a legend which arose out of the insertion of the Phœnician colony into the series of the Attic kings (vol. i. pp. 68-109). Among the families derived from the ancient commonwealth of the Cecropia were the tribes of Eleusis, and in the foremost rank the Eumolpidæ, the descendants of Triptolemus, who had there first ploughed the Rharian field, or of Eumolpus, *i.e.* the fine singer, or of Musæus, *i.e.* the musician, who was regarded as the most ancient minstrel of Attica.

The descendants of warriors were held in equal honour with the priestly families; foremost among these were the Thymætadæ, the posterity of Theseus and of his descendant the deposed King Thymætas (vol. i. p. 242); the immigrant families of the Philaidæ and Eurysacidæ, descendants of Telamon and of Ajax

[1] Meier, *De Gent. Attic.* 117.
[2] *Infra*, Book 4, chap. xiv.
[3] Pausan. 7, 21, 9; 8, 35, 7.
[4] Plato, *Alcib.* 1, p. 121.

of Salamis, who had come over from thence to Athens, and had added the island of Salamis to Attica. Philæus is said to have settled at Brauron, on the east coast; and Eurysaces at Athens itself, in the quarter of Melite, the ancient colony of the Phœnicians.[1] Both these families carried up their descent to Zeus.[2] The Philaidæ could enumerate their ancestors by name as far as Ajax; they reckoned twelve generations between Telamon and his descendant Miltiades, who lived in the first half of the seventh century.[3] To these families had been added the fugitives from Thessaly; from the Lapithæ at Gyrton and Elatea came the descendants of Coronus and Pirithous, the Coronidæ and Pirithoïdæ, whose settlement in Attica gave rise to the story of the friendship of Theseus and Pirithous; from the Cadmeans came the family of the Gephyræans;[4] finally from Pylus, besides the family that now wore the crown of Attica, namely, the Melanthidæ, who were descended from Periclymenus, the brother of Nestor (they were also called Medontidæ, from Medon, grandson of Melanthus), came the posterity of Nestor's second son Thrasymedes, named Alcmæonidæ, from Alcmæon, the grandson of Thrasymedes; and the Pisistratidæ, who claimed descent from Pisistratus, third son of Nestor.[5]

When Attica had become united the noble families formed themselves, as we have seen, into four territorial guilds or tribes; and with these tribes—called the

[1] Plut. *Solon*, 10. [2] Plato, *Alcib.* 1, *l. c.*

[3] Vol. i. p. 127; Pherecyd. *Fragm.* 20 M.

[4] Herod. 5, 57. The Phœnician descent therefore resolves itself into a Theban origin. The name rather implies that this family understood and practised Greek ritual. Johannes the Lydian (*Mens.* 3, 21) explains it by *pontifices;* they are the guides to the paths of heaven among the Indians. Æschylus mentions the κελευθοποιοὶ παῖδες Ἡφαίστου, *Eumen.* 13. [5] Vol. i. p. 242.

Geleontes, Hopletes, Argadeis, and Ægicoreis—the fugitive races at the period of the migrations were associated. Each of these associations was divided into three phratriæ, *i.e.* brotherhoods; all accounts agree in stating that each phratria contained thirty families or houses, and since the four territorial tribal associations were originally unequal, this equality can only have been brought about through the assignment and arrangement of the noble families who had immigrated from Thessaly, Bœotia, Ægialus, and Pylus. Families of blood relations must have originally formed the nucleus of the thirty houses in each phratria; the relationship with the allotted and afterwards adopted families was merely a fiction. "Those who were distributed into the families," says Aristotle, "were called Gennetæ," *i.e.* allies by birth and kin.[1] Whether this artificial arrangement of the four tribes, the grouping of the families belonging to each of them into the three great divisions called phratriæ, and the including of thirty families in each phratria, began at the period when King Melanthus enrolled the fugitives among the tribes (the feast of the Apaturia is ascribed to Melanthus, vol. i. p. 248), it is impossible to say. It is, however, more probable that this arrangement was first introduced when it was intended to give the four tribes equal shares in the government of the state, and when each tribe nominated a chief called a Phylobasileus, or tribal king, to represent its particular interests, and to bring the weight of its influence to bear in the scale.

The kings of Attica ruled the land with the advice and assistance of the noble families. At a very early period it may have been usual to associate the four

[1] *Schol.* Platon. *Axioch.* p. 465 Bekker [371 Ast]; Pollux, 8, 111.

tribes on somewhat equal terms with the king at his councils and courts of justice. The king held his council at his hearth, in the palace that lay northwards under the citadel. Here also he gave judgment in criminal causes. Cases of theft and property were decided either by the king himself or by experienced persons from among the tribes whom he had authorised, namely, the Gerontes; such trials were held in the market-place lying to the south-west under the Acropolis, probably at the southern edge of it, on the spot where the royal portico was afterwards situated. Cases of murder were tried on the hill of Ares, the god of war, near the altar of the Erinnyes, the goddesses who were the avengers of blood.

The peasants and day-labourers took no part either in the guidance of the commonwealth, the administration of justice, or the offering of sacrifices. "The people of Attica," says Dionysius of Halicarnassus, "were divided into two classes: those who came of noble houses and were rich; they were called Eupatridæ, and to them belonged the government of the city; the other members of the community were named peasants (ἀγροῖκοι); and these had no voice in public matters."[1] The Attic local communities, the demes of a later period, seem half of them to have borne patronymic names: Thymætadæ, Pirithoïdæ, Butadæ, Philaïdæ, Pæonidæ, Pambotadæ, Echelidæ, Iphistiadæ, Dædalidæ, Hippotamadæ, Laciadæ, Semachidæ, Chollidæ, Titacidæ, etc. — all these show that the local communities grew up from the peasants having attached and subordinated themselves to the nearest large estate, and become dependent on the noble family in possession of it. But there was something beyond

[1] *Antiq.* 2, 8.

this interdependence of near neighbourhood, of the smaller on the greater, of possessions requiring and affording protection between nobles and peasants. Only those sacrifices which were offered in a right manner, with the ancient invocations, could gain the favour of the gods; only the nobles were acquainted with the ritual, and only in their families had the effectual sacrificial hymns been handed down. The peasants sought admission to the sacrifices of the nobility that they too might win the favour of heaven, and they naturally selected those offered by the head of the noble family whose possessions lay nearest to them.[1] Hence it followed that the peasants also, so many as obtained such a permission, had to bring contributions to these sacrifices and sacrificial feasts, and gifts to the head of the family for offering the sacrifice. The small proprietor stood in need of the favour and protection of the greater and stronger, for the protection of the king was not always at hand. This admission to a share in the sacrifice, this right to the protection and support of the head of the noble family, and consequently of the entire family, which thus undertook to represent its clients before the court, must have developed gradually, through the same series of changes by which the nobles succeeded in limiting the rights of the king and his power to protect the peasant against the aristocracy.

Philochorus says in his *Atthis*, that those who in his day were called Gennetæ (allied by kin) had formerly been called Homogalactes (foster-brothers); but the phratores (members of the brotherhoods or phratriæ) had to admit not only the foster-brothers, but also the Orgeones (*i.e.* those taking part in the common offer-

[1] Harpocrat. Γεννῆται.

ings) to the sacrifices. "The members of the same family," we are further told, "were called Homogalactes and Gennetæ; these do not belong to it by descent, but by association." "The name Gennetæ was given not only to those of the same blood and springing from the same kindred, but to those who from of old had been divided into the so-called families (γένη)."[1] As each family had peculiar rights and sacred functions, it is evident that blood relations and participators in a common offering were regarded as distinct; and in harmony with this we hear, at a later period, of "true Butadæ," and "Butadæ" in the same family.[2] The peasants connected with the families were not active, but passive members of them, as this distinction clearly shows; they were not members properly so called, but retainers who had a right to protection. Even in the fifth century we find that in the rearrangement of a commonwealth, and the introduction of new tribes, the small farmers, the Periœci, remained attached to the ancient tribe to which they had formerly been assigned.[3]

Of the descendants of Medon, the son of Codrus, a long series of whom succeeded Medon on the throne of Attica, tradition has not told us a single act. We may, therefore, conclude that in the two centuries that elapsed between the time of Melanthus and Codrus and the first common sacrifice at Olympia, the princes of Attica did not distinguish themselves by warlike exploits. Moreover, there existed in Attica at a very early period a regular system of expiations for murder,

[1] Philoch. *Fragm.* 91-94 M; Harpocrat. Γεννῆται; Suidas, Γεννῆται, Ὀργεῶνες; Pollux, 3, 52.

[2] Æschin. *De mal. gest. leg.* 147; Demosth. *in Midiam*, p. 573 R; Harpocrat. Ἐτεοβουτάδαι.

[3] Herodot. 4, 161.

and laws on the subject of bloodshed, which the Attic tradition connected with Delphi; while even after the fall of the monarchy the chief authority in trials for murder and homicide belonged to the officer bearing the royal title. These two facts warrant the inference that those ordinances were already in force during the existence of the monarchy in Attica.

Medon was succeeded on the throne by Acastus, Archippus, Thersippus, Phorbas, Megacles, Diognetus, Pherecles, Ariphron; further by Thespieus, Agamestor, and Æschylus. This list must have been drawn up as early as the first half of the eighth century. But as we have already seen, it is not free from the suspicion of subsequent enlargement (vol. i. p. 138). When it was first written, recollection could not at the most have extended beyond the reigns of Thespieus, Agamestor, and Æschylus; Thespieus is said to have ascended the throne in 819 B.C., *i.e.* at the time of Lycurgus; Agamestor in 794 B.C.; Æschylus in 777 B.C.[1] How the dates of the earlier kings may have been determined we have already discussed. The chronographers place the first celebration of the common sacrifice at Olympia in the second or twelfth year of the reign of Æschylus.[2]

The defence of the state, which was forced upon the nobles of Attica in the storms of the migrations more imperatively than at an earlier period; the considerable accession of strength they had acquired by the absorption of immigrant noble families; the con-

[1] So we find from the Parian marble, *Ep.* 31; Euseb. *Chron.* 1, 188 Sch.

[2] The Parian marble, Africanus, and Jerome have the second, Eusebius has the twelfth [but the text is obviously wrong. The *Excerpta barbari* have the second].

nection of the peasants with their sacrifices and their estates, must have raised the self-confidence of their order as opposed to the crown. Why should it depend upon the pleasure of the prince to summon this or that lord to his council or courts of justice? Had not all nobles an equal right and claim to it? If resolutions were carried which compelled every one, and the nobles above all, to render services; why should not the nobility have the power of agreement or dissent? Should the will of the prince or of the nobles collectively prevail? Had not the nobility to bear the whole burden in case of war or invasion?

A few years before the Corinthian nobles had put an end to the hereditary monarchy of the Bacchiadæ, by substituting the annual election of a head of the commonwealth from the tribal association bearing the same name, the nobles of Attica also succeeded in transferring the centre of government to their own collective order. The son was no longer to succeed his father upon the throne by the hereditary right of the family of Melanthus; the right to the first place in the state was indeed to remain with the Melanthidæ, but the nobility wished to give that place to whatever member of the family was agreeable to themselves, and the term of office was limited to ten years. Thus the head of the state became an officer elected for a certain time by the nobility out of the members of the royal family.

King Æschylus, son of Agamestor, who reigned over Attica from 777 B.C. to 754 B.C., was succeeded by his son Alcmæon. In the third year after his accession (752 B.C) this alteration of the government from monarchy to an aristocracy was accomplished, apparently not without violence. Alcmæon was

deposed, and Charops, his uncle,[1] brother of his father Æschylus, took his place as the first ruler chosen for ten years from the house of Melanthus. No doubt, therefore, here, as in Corinth, dissension in the royal family, the resistance of the uncle to the hereditary claims of the nephew, aided the nobility in carrying out their scheme; while shortly afterwards the discord in the royal house of Messenia invited the Spartans to the conquest of that country. After Charops the successive elections to the chief magistracy from the family of Melanthus were as follows: Æsimedes, according to Pausanias, the son of Æschylus (742-732 B.C.); Clidicus (732-722 B.C.), called by Pausanias the son of Æsimedes,[2] and after him Hippomenes. The leadership in war, the chief place in the council, and the administration of justice, the sacred functions exercised by the hereditary kings—all these, no doubt, were transferred to the elective princes together with the royal title.[3]

[1] Africanus and Eusebius make the first Olympiad coincide with the second year of Æschylus; and with this the Parian marble is in harmony, for it places the twenty-first year of Æschylus in 754 B.C. Also the *Chron. Paschale* (193, 10) makes the reign of Æschylus, son of Agamestor, twenty-three years. Eusebius places the second year of Alcmæon in Olympiad 6, 3=752 B.C., and the election of Charops in Olympiad 7, 1, *Chron.* 2, 80 Sch. Similarly Jerome and Syncellus, p. 399 Bonn. With this calculation Velleius (1, 2, 1, 8) and Dionysius, *Antiq.* 1, 71, 75, also agree. The calculation of the *Excerpta barbari* [Euseb. 1, 217 Sch.], which assign ten years to Alcmæon, *i.e.* make him one of the first decennially elected prytanes, cannot be brought forward against this. The kings of Attica are said by Velleius (1, 2) and Pausanias (4, 5, 10) to have been called archons from the time of Medon, but this is only an anticipation of the later institution, and therefore historically without value. Justin (2, 7) makes the annually elected magistrates follow immediately after Codrus. The Parian marble throughout calls the successors of Codrus by their proper name, *βασιλεῖς*.

[2] Pausan. 4, 5, 10; 1, 3, 3.

[3] In the *Schol.* Æsch. *in Timarch.* 182, Hippomenes is called *βασιλεὺς Ἀθηναίων*, and still later than this, the first archon is called *βασιλεύς*; for example, Epænetus, the first archon of the year 636 B.C. in Hippys of Rhegium (*Fragm.* 5 M).

The Greeks were very careful not to lose the favour of the gods by any change in the traditional sacrifices and ceremonial honours, or in the persons to whom the right of offering them belonged; it was only in the council and in the administration of justice that the share of the nobles became more important and systematic.

Of Hippomenes, the fourth decennial archon of the house of Melanthus, the following story is related. His daughter Leimonis had been seduced, and, in order to prove that the Melanthidæ were wrongfully accused of effeminacy and weakness, he bound the seducer to his chariot and dragged him along till he died; while his daughter was shut up with a horse in a house, and no food was brought to them, so that the horse devoured her. "The foundations of this house," says Æschines, "are still standing in our city, and the place is called after the horse and the maiden."[1] After the ten years' rule of Hippomenes, the exclusive right of the Melanthidæ to be elected to the decennial archonship was cancelled, and all Eupatridæ were considered eligible for the supreme power.[2]

[1] Æschin. *in Timarch.* 182, and the *Scholia;* Heracl. Pont. *Fragm.* 1, 3 M; Diod. *Excerpt. Virt.* p. 550 = 8, 22; Nicol. Damasc. *Fragm.* 51; Suidas, Ἱππομένης.

[2] In Heraclides, *loc. cit.*, we read, ἀπὸ δὲ Κοδριδῶν οὐκέτι βασιλεῖς ᾑροῦντο; immediately after, however, he calls Hippomenes—who is never absent from any list of the decennial archons—one of the Codrids. The *Scholia* of Æschines, *loc. cit.*, also describe Hippomenes as "of the race of Codrus." Pausanias (4, 13, 7) says of the time of the fourteenth Olympiad: "the Medontidæ had still at that period the decennial government," and speaks of the fourth year of Hippomenes, although, according to Pausanias himself (1, 3, 3), the family of Melanthus seems already to have come to an end with Clidicus. Dionysius assigns the beginning of the ten years of Hippomenes to *Olymp.* 14, 3 = 722 B.C.; Pausanias to *Olymp.* 13, 2. To Æschines the alleged act of Hippomenes is a proof of laudable severity of manners; the proverb however says: ἀσεβέστερος Ἱππομένους.

Whatever may be the truth of this story, the names of Hippomenes (*i.e.* horse-mad) and Leimonis (*i.e* maid of the meadow) render it more than suspicious.[1] We may suppose that the inherited honour, which even elected members of the royal family could not fail to acquire, combined with the exercise of the royal functions, seemed to the nobility too great, and that for this reason they thought it advisable to set aside the privilege of the Melanthidæ and to throw open the highest office in the state to all nobles. In truth, the ancient reverence of the peasants for the royal house, the protection which might be afforded them from tyranny and in their law-suits by the decennial archon out of this house, may have roused the fear of the nobles lest, if their choice should fall on an energetic member of the family, hereditary monarchy should again be introduced. The first president elected for ten years from the whole body of the nobility was Leocrates (712-702 B.C.), who was succeeded by Agesander and Eryxias (702-682 B.C.).

As to the fortunes of Athens during the seventy years from 752 to 682 B.C. tradition tells us nothing. Whether the island of Salamis was acquired in the time of the monarchy or in the period we are considering is uncertain.[2] We only know that, while her tribal allies in Eubœa were extending their intercourse towards the east and west, and those in Asia were sending ships into the Black Sea—while the Corinthians were settling in Sicily and the Megarians

[1] The house, according to the *Scholia*, was also called ἱπποκόρειον, and may perhaps be compared with the λεωκόριον, the place of national purification (Book 4, chap. 10).

[2] Strabo is of opinion that Salamis had once been independent, p. 395.

planting colonies both there and on the Bosphorus—Attica did not stir beyond her frontiers, though the Athenians had a share in the founding of Naxos, the first Greek settlement in Sicily (735 B.C.).[1] Attica from of old had been associated with Orchomenus and with the commonwealths formerly belonging to her fellow-tribesmen on the north coast of the Peloponnesus, Hermione, Epidaurus, Ægina, Prasiæ, and Nauplia, in the common worship of Poseidon on the island of Calauria (vol. i. p. 158). As this alliance continued even when the Bœotians had become masters of Orchomenus, and the Dorians of northern Peloponnesus, we may with the more certainty suppose that Attica at an early period—before the middle of the eighth century—took part in the sacrifice, the contests of song, and of physical strength with which the Ionians of Asia and of the Cyclades worshipped Apollo in the spring. According to Attic tradition, however, Theseus had first offered the sacrifice in Delos, and the Athenians afterwards believed that they possessed the ship which had transported him to Crete and Delos.[2] It must have been the growing fame of the sacrifice at Olympia and the appearance of the Lacedæmonians there after the conquest of Messenia which caused Attica to join in it at the time of the decennial archons, and to send envoys, not only to Calauria and Delos, but also to Olympia. At the Olympic sacrifices of 696 and 692 B.C. the victor in the Stadium was for the first time an Athenian. Also, in the year 672 B.C., an Athenian won the foot-race. At this period the Ionians in Asia—the fellow-tribesmen of Athens—already took part in the sacrifice at Olympia; in the

[1] *Supra*, p. 39; and *infra*, chap. 8.

[2] Plato, *Phædo*, p. 58; Plut. *Thes.* 21; Pausan. 8, 48, 3.

year 688 B.C. the prize for boxing was carried off by a native of Smyrna[1] (vol. i. p. 276).

It cannot have been any later than this—perhaps rather earlier, in the second half of the eighth century—that the ancient repute and growing importance of the oracle at Pytho, of the sacrifice which the Amphictyons now offered, not only to Demeter at Anthela in the autumn, but also to Apollo at Pytho in the spring, stimulated the nobles of Athens to join this festival and to demand safe conduct for their embassy thither. The Ionians in Eubœa had long ago become members of the sacrifice through the Hestiæans, who had settled in that island (vol. i. p. 297). Under the name and the protection of these their kinsmen, the Athenians first joined in the offerings and games until about the year 700 B.C., when the extension of the circle of members allowed to Athens an independent vote in the council of the sacrificial league, on which the conduct of the games and offerings and the care of the temples at Anthela and Pytho devolved (see chap. 12).

Even before the admission of Attica into the council of the Amphictyons, during the period of the hereditary monarchy, there had existed relations with Delphi, through which a code of laws concerning bloodshed and expiation for murder had been established in accordance with the views of the Delphic priests[2] (vol. i. p. 304). Here, as elsewhere among the Hellenes, venge-

[1] Pausan. 5, 8, 7.

[2] Vol. i. pp. 243 and 306. That Athens, at any rate, from 650 B.C., sent her θεωροὶ to Delphi, follows from Androtion's statement that the Colacretai had defrayed the expenses of the θεωροὶ to Pytho out of the ναυκληρικὰ (Androtion in *Schol.* Aristoph. *Aves.* 1541); and the formula of the πρόῤῥησις—"to keep themselves far from the sacrifices and games of the Amphictyons"—must certainly be placed half a century earlier.

ance for blood was a duty incumbent on the relations of the murdered person. To neglect the pursuit of a murderer was regarded in Athens, even at a later period, as an impiety, and the nearest relative of the deceased could always be brought to justice for the omission of this duty. The commonwealth contented itself with providing a way by which the injured family could fulfil this sacred duty without shedding more blood; it reduced the pursuit of the murderer and the atonement for murder to legal forms. The state, however, had yet another duty in regard to the matter; the shedding of blood defiled not only the murderer, but those who harboured and associated with him; according to Greek conceptions, it rendered the land unclean, and exposed it to the anger of the gods. The people must be secured from such contamination, the anger of the gods must be appeased, the country must be cleansed from the blood that had been shed. It was the duty first of the Gennetæ or nearest relations, next of the phratores or members of the same phratria, to pursue the murderer, and if the murder were expiable, to receive the expiation. In the event of a murder the next of kin, who was the avenger of blood, had solemnly to declare at the grave of the victim that the murderer must be exiled from the market and from his country's boundaries, and from the Amphictyonic games and sacrifices. He repeated this announcement (*πρόῤῥησις*) in the market-place, and the king published a decree to the same effect. The avenger of blood was required to pursue the murderer, spear in hand, to seize him wherever he might meet him, and bring him before the king. If he resisted, and was killed in so doing, the avenger of blood was not held guilty. If he were unable to find

the murderer, it was his duty to take hostages from the family of the latter, and to bring them before the judgment seat. If the king and those who assisted him in the inquiry were of opinion that an unjustifiable, premeditated murder had been committed, he held a trial on the hill of Mars, in the temple of the god of war; for the murderer had brought war into a peaceful community. Here, on the Areopagus, according to Athenian tradition, Ares himself had been tried by the gods for slaying Halirrhothius, the son of Poseidon; here also Cephalus was tried, who killed his wife Procris, the daughter of Erechtheus, and Dædalus, who slew Talus; here, in the time of King Demophon, Orestes, the wilful murderer of his mother, was acquitted because he was the lawful avenger of his father. The altar of Athena Area, which stood on the Areopagus, was said to have been founded by Orestes after his acquittal.[1] All trials for murder were held in the open air; the judges themselves would have been polluted by remaining under the same roof with the murderer. Below, on the hill of the war-god, stood the altar of the Erinnyes, the avenging spirits who rose up out of the blood of the murdered, and left no crime unpunished—"the awful goddesses" over whose worship the Hesychidæ presided. The pursuer of the murderer took his seat on an unhewn stone, the stone of pitilessness (ἀναίδεια); the murderer on a similar stone, called the stone of outrage (ὕβρις). A boar or a ram was then sacrificed with peculiarly solemn ceremonies, after which the accuser laid his hand on the offering, while swearing that the murdered person belonged to his family and

[1] Vol. i. p. 245; Hellanic. *Fragm.* 69, 82 M; Marmor. Par. *Ep.* 3: Pausan. 1, 28, 5.

race, and that he spoke the truth. The witnesses on the side of the prosecution swore to the truth of their statements in a similarly solemn manner. On the first day of the trial the accuser and the accused set forth the charge and the defence, giving their own account and calling their witnesses; on the second both were allowed to develop their causes; on the third judgment was pronounced. It seems to have been an institution of the ancient Attic law that no sentence should be deferred beyond the third day.[1] According to the old custom any murder could be expiated by atonement to the relatives of the victim; but, in opposition to this, premeditated murder was punished by death, *i.e.* the delivering over of the murderer to the avenger of blood. If the accused fled beyond the limits of his country immediately after the deed and the declaration of the avenger, the land was, at any rate, no further polluted by the presence of the man stained with blood. In that case the king and his nobles, sitting in judgment on the Areopagus, gave sentence that he should be exiled for ever from the country, and that his property should be given to the family of his victim as an atonement. If the murderer did not shun the sentence of the court, and if, on the third day, the votes on both sides were equal, he was acquitted. If the court on the Areopagus declared the accused guilty of premeditated murder, he was given up to the accuser to be slain; at a later period the prosecutor was only present at the execution, and the property of the dead murderer was confiscated to the state. If the accused were acquitted of deliberate murder, he had to offer a thank-offering to the Eumenides.

[1] Demosth. *in Aristocr.* p. 642 *sqq.* R; Hesych. *μὴ πλείω εἶναι τριταίας τὴν κρίσιν.*

In the temple of Pallas, standing outside the city on the Ilissus, before the ancient statue, the Palladium, which was said to have been transported hither from Ilium, and was under the care of the family of the Buzygæ (*supra*, p. 115), the king sat in judgment on unpremeditated homicide. Here King Demophon himself was tried, because when this statue of Pallas was carried off many Argive followers of Agamemnon and Diomede had been accidentally killed.[1] In cases of unpremeditated murder the punishment was only temporary exile, the duration of which varied according to circumstances, but was never less than a year.[2] The exile had to quit the country by a prescribed route. On his return from banishment a reconciliation took place with the relatives of the murdered man; they were indemnified for the loss of a member of their family by a sum of money. If the murder had been accidental the refusal of this compensation was not allowed. In default of blood relations the nearest cousins received the money and were reconciled to the murderer; in default of these the Gennetæ, or finally the phratores. All those whose duty it was to prosecute the murderer had also a right to the expiatory fine of the homicide. They received besides a black ram from the accused, which they offered, instead of the slayer, to the Erinnyes of the slain, and to the infernal gods. By his banishment the murderer had already made atonement, appeased the wrath of the gods and of his victim, and propitiated the Erinnyes of the dead; he had now become reconciled with the relatives, and was once more a free agent in the land, so soon as he had undergone very elaborate

[1] Vol. i. p. 243; Pausan. 1, 28, 9; Pollux, 8, 119.
[2] *Laws*, pp. 868, 869.

purifications (the clothes of a homicide must be washed seven times) by purifiers of the tribe of the Phytalidæ, at the altar of Zeus Meilichius (the pacified Zeus), which stood on the Sacred Way to Eleusis, beyond the river Cephissus.[1]

In the Delphinium, the temple of the Delphic Apollo (vol. i. p. 119), the king held a court for the trial of homicides who maintained that their deeds were justifiable. Here the god of Pytho had slain the dragon by a righteous act. Here had occurred the first trial for justifiable homicide, the trial of Theseus for the slaughter of the robbers on the isthmus, and the Pallantidæ.[2] To kill an assailant in self-defence, or a thief who entered a man's house in the night, or a seducer found by a man with his wife or daughter, by a brother with his sister, by a son with his mother, was justifiable homicide. If the accused could prove that he had any such justification for his deed, the king and his assessors had only to ordain and arrange the prescribed ritual for purification.

The Prytaneum, the hearth of the king, was the place of judgment if the murderer were an unknown person, and could not be discovered. If the instruments with which the murder had been committed were forthcoming, and brought to the place by the relatives of the deceased, sentence was passed on them by the court, and they were carried beyond the borders of Attica, that the land might be cleansed. Beams of timber also, and stones, or whatsoever else had accidentally caused the death of a man, were condemned and conveyed out of the country; even animals, through

[1] Pausan. 1, 37, 4; O. Müller, *Æschylos' Eumeniden*, p. 144.
[2] Pausan. 1, 28, 10; Pollux, 8, 119.

which any fatal accident had happened, were sentenced in the Prytaneum and banished.[1]

There was a fifth place of judgment on the shore of the bay of Phreattys, on the peninsula of the Peiræus. Here exiles were tried who, having been banished for unintentional homicide, were accused of a second murder during their term of absence. If such a man presented himself he was forced to make his defence from a ship, while his judges sat on the shore.[2] In this manner Teucer had once cleared himself before his father Telamon of complicity in the death of Ajax.

The Attic nobles were not satisfied with having thrown open the highest office in the state to all the members of their body. The period of ten years for which the kings were chosen must have seemed to them too long, and the possession of their ample powers, especially their full supremacy in the administration of justice, during such a period, very hazardous. The nobleman, moreover, who was voluntarily elected for ten years, still assumed a dynastic position. And if the command of the state was to belong to the nobles collectively, it might well have seemed unjust and perilous to transfer to a single person such extensive and continuous authority. The nobles of Corinth, indeed, chose their ruler from the royal house, but only for one year. In Attica the time might be shortened, and something further might be done, for the functions which had remained united in the hand of the king elected for ten years from the ancient family and from the collective nobility might be divided, and entrusted to several officers. Both these alterations were made. By an

[1] Demosth. *in Aristocr.* pp. 643-645 R; Pollux, 8, 90, 120; Harpocr. ἐπὶ Πρυτανείῳ.

[2] Pausan. 1, 28, 11; Demosth. *in Aristocr.* p. 646 R.

annual change in the supreme ruler, and the distribution of his functions among other officers, likewise elected annually, a certain number of the nobles were enabled every year to fill the most important and responsible posts, making way when they retired for other members of their own rank and station. Thus the government of the state was open to a large circle of noblemen, the officers annually elected were more dependent on the electors, and more accountable to them than heretofore, and the influence of the whole body of the nobility in the government became greater and more constant. Though the Attic nobles had at first introduced slighter restrictions on the monarchy than the Corinthians, they had now advanced farther, and soon left the latter far behind. From a decennial prytany confined to the ancient royal family, they had progressed in a period of only seventy years to an open prytany which was annually changed. By the distribution of the powers hitherto combined in it this prytany was thrown open to more than one member of the ruling class. Instead of one president, officers annually elected, bearing (we know not from what date) the title of archons, now stood at the head of the state. This innovation came into force at the expiration of the office of Eryxias, in the year 682 B.C., and therewith the government of the ruling class, by means of the ruling class, was brought to completion.

As to the manner in which the Attic nobles carried out the new organisation of their government we have very meagre information. We hear most about the new chief officers, nine in number, whom the nobility annually placed at its head. Why this number was fixed upon we do not know. Thucydides, speaking of the second half of the seventh century, says: "Most

of the public business then depended upon the nine archons."[1] We see also that these chief officials were at first all designated by the name of "kings," and that the royal authority was transferred to them; and from the functions which we afterwards find them exercising, we may infer the powers originally bestowed upon them.[2] They were expected to maintain the public peace; both the judicial and executive authority belonged to them; they formed the government of the country. Whatever changes the Attic constitution underwent, these officials always retained judicial functions. The chief of the new authorities was the president of the Republic. He presided over the council and the assembly of the nobles. To him had been transferred the royal authority in regard to criminal jurisdiction, and the laws of inheritance and family life. In such causes he sat in judgment, as the king had formerly done, in the Prytaneum and the Agora, in the "portico of the king" (*supra*, p. 119). The second in rank, who retained the name of king, decided on cases of murder, and exercised those religious and priestly functions on behalf of the community which had formerly devolved on the hereditary and elective kings. Besides offering the customary public sacrifice—to which belonged especially the solemnities of the festival of Demeter, and the festival of Dionysus in the spring—this "king" had to preside over all the public games that followed the sacrifice, and to give sentence in all causes relating to religious matters, such as impiety or the neglect of sacred duties. With the title of king he retained the ancient distinctive dress, hitherto worn by the kings of Athens, the

[1] Thucyd. 1, 126.
[2] *Supra*, p. 124; Plato, *Menex.* p. 238.

royal shoes (βασιλίδες), and the garland on the head.[1] The wife of this annually elected sovereign took the place of the queen of earlier times. On the third day of the Anthesteria, the spring festival, accompanied by the Hieroceryx, and fourteen chosen women of the Attic nobility, she was conducted to the Lenæum, the temple of Dionysus in the plain beneath the city, and there married to the god, that he might send his blessing for the year upon the land of Attica.[2] The chief command in war which had belonged to the hereditary and elective kings, together with the administration of military affairs, was given to the third official, who received the title of Polemarchus, or general in chief. With his office was connected the worship of the war deities; he had to offer the sacrifices due to Ares and to Artemis Agrotera; and as he also directed the foreign relations of the state he exercised jurisdiction over aliens as well as settlers in the country. For the other six, out of the nine appointed, there remained from the spoils of the monarchy, all the jurisdiction that was not connected with criminal or domestic causes. These officers were called from the nature of their functions Thesmothetæ—that is, legislators of the sacred law.[3] In criminal cases they had to pronounce sentence under the presidency of the first archon, but cases of theft and disputed property lay under their own jurisdiction. While the first archon sat in judgment in the portico of the king, and the king archon tried cases of bloodshed in the ancient

[1] Pollux, 7, 85.

[2] Pollux, 8, 90, 108; Hesych. and Harpocr. γέραιραι; Demosth. *c. Neaeram*, p. 1371 R.

[3] Sometimes all the archons, even in the fourth century, are called by the general name of Thesmothetæ, since they all exercised jurisdiction. Demosth. *in Lept.* p. 484 R, *et alib.*; Plut. *Sol.* 25.

places — on the Areopagus, in the Palladium, the Delphinium, the Prytaneum, and at Phreattys, the Thesmothetæ held their court for civil cases in the market-place, or in the Prytaneum, the hearth of the royal house, which had now become the hearth of the commonwealth. Even after the removal of the monarchy, the hearth of the king remained the centre of the state. It was there that the officers who represented the king ate their common meal. Beside the chief magistrates there existed a board of finance, the members of which were called Colacretæ. The name, which signifies collectors of thigh pieces, shows that they had formerly stood beside the king to assist him at sacrifices, to receive the portions of the offerings, and the honorary fees belonging to him, and to collect the contributions for the sacrifice.[1] These functions they had also fulfilled under the kings elected for ten years. Under the rule of the archons, after the fall of the monarchy, we are distinctly told that they disbursed payments from the public money, and provided the meals in the Prytaneum.[2]

The organism of the government was based upon the tribes, the phratriæ, and the families of the nobility. The peasants, so far at least as they had not placed themselves under the protection of some neighbouring family, and thus become dependents of the particular house to which it belonged, and of the head of the house, were wholly in subjection to the *gentes* and the leaders of the *gentes*, who undertook to represent them before the courts of law. It was the duty of the phratriæ to watch over their relations to the noble class

[1] The existence of Colacretæ in Cyzicus seems to prove that the antiquity of this office extended even beyond the period of the migrations.

[2] *Schol.* Aristoph. *Aves.* 1541 [on the authority of Androtion].

and to the families. The members of the twelve brotherhoods met together in Pyanepsion to celebrate the Apaturia. The festival began with an evening banquet for the phratores; the next day sacrifices were offered to Zeus Phratrius and Athena Phratria by the phratriarch who said the prayer, and hymns were sung to Hephæstus, the founder of the hearth; on the third day followed the reception of new members into the phratriæ, the registration of children recently born to the families, the enrolment of the grown-up youths.[1] It was the custom in Attica for newly-born children to be carried round the hearth of the house: by this ceremony they were acknowledged by their father, placed under the protection of Hephæstus, the god of the hearth, and received as members into the family. The father had now no longer any right over the life of the child. At the Apaturia the children born to the nobles since the last festival were carried to the altar of Zeus Phratrius. The father offered on behalf of his child a sheep or goat; if any one disputed the legitimacy of the child, *i.e.* denied that it had been born in lawful marriage, the accuser was required to take back the victim, and to produce his proofs. The case was decided by the heads of families, under the presidency of the phratriarch or head of the phratria. If the child were recognised and received as legitimate, the father had to provide a libation of wine. Then the younger members were presented, first the boys and then the youths, to the phratores, and formally admitted into the phratriæ; marriages were confirmed by the adoption of the wife into the phratria of her husband; the newly married

[1] Vol. i. p. 248; Plato, *Euthyd.* 302; Demosth. *in Macart.* p. 1054 R; *Schol.* Aristoph. *Acharn.* 146; A. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 309.

brought an offering on that occasion, and gave a banquet to the phratria. The legitimation of children of mixed parentage, adoption from one house or family into another, the conferring of civil rights on aliens who were then assigned to some house, took place before the phratores; the property of members who had died without heirs lapsed to the phratria. The possession of the right of citizenship, of nobility, and of inheritance depended on the phratria. The phratriæ were the guardians of family and civil jurisdiction, just as the prosecution of cases of murder, the atonement for the crime, and the reconciliation of the murderer with the kindred of his victim, rested with them and with the *gentes*. It was the duty of the blood relations and fellow-members of the *gens* to prosecute the murderer; the kindred, connections, and *gens* of the victim received the atonement for him, and became reconciled with the murderer. In default of near relations and gentile connections, the phratores received the atonement, and representatives of the phratria were reconciled with the murderer (*supra*, p. 132).

After the chief magistrates began to be annually elected, the heads of the four tribes, the four tribal kings, were also chosen afresh every year by the nobles, and assisted the second archon, or *βασιλεύς*, in the trials for murder; they also sat with the first archon and the other archons in the Prytaneum when they administered criminal justice.[1] The four kings of the tribes, together with the nine archons and perhaps also the twelve phratriarchs, constituted the council on the hearth of the state in the Prytaneum, before which the affairs of the commonwealth were discussed; the

[1] That criminal justice was administered in the Prytaneum is shown by the name *πρυτανεῖα* for the law charges and the decree of amnesty.

kings of the tribes were in a position to represent the separate interests of each tribe.[1] Besides the executive and judicial council there existed a higher council of the nobility, concerning which we are told nothing further. But it may perhaps be inferred from later occurrences that it contained three hundred members. If this were so each tribe, *i.e.* the nobles of each tribe, must have sent seventy-five men to it. These were representatives chosen by each tribe in equal number from among its members, *i.e.* the circle of its nobility.[2] That the tribes were represented there in different numbers we certainly cannot suppose. If the archons were in agreement with this council, the col-

[1] The participation of the tribal kings in trials for murder and criminal causes follows generally from Draco's law in the first axon of Solon: *δικάζειν δὲ τοὺς βασιλέας αἰτίων φόνου*; and by Solon's decree of amnesty in the thirteenth axon, according to which those are excluded from the amnesty who *ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου ἢ ὅσοι ἐκ τῶν ἐφετῶν ἢ ἐκ πρυτανείου καταδικασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ φόνῳ ἢ σφαγαῖσιν ἢ ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἔφυγον*. On the Areopagus only the king archon sat in judgment; the use of the plural in both laws can only be explained by the presence of the tribal kings as assessors. We are also expressly told with regard to the criminal court in the Prytaneum *προεστήκεσαν φυλοβασιλεῖς* (Pollux, 8, 120). It is true that we find *βασιλεῖς* simply, and not *φυλοβασιλεῖς*, in the two laws, while in later documents (in a fragment of the fourth century, *Corresp. Hellenic.* 3, p. 69) *φυλοβασιλεῖς* are distinctly mentioned; but it does not follow from the official title of the fourth century that the tribal kings may not also have been generally styled *βασιλεῖς* in the seventh and sixth centuries; and this is the less improbable since the archons in the seventh century were themselves called by that title. It remains uncertain whether the tribal kings also sat in the Prytaneum for the administration of penal justice, but it seems likely that they did so. There is no doubt that the archons collectively here adjudged criminal causes.

[2] I infer this number from the 300 who gave judgment on the *ἐναγεῖς* (Plut. *Sol.* 12), and from the council of the 300 instituted by Isagoras and the aristocrats against the council of the 400 of Solon. In a similar manner the aristocrats, in the year 411 B.C., try to reinstate Solon's council of 400 as against the council of 500. The objection that the number 300 does not fit in with the fourfold number of the tribes, would apply with still greater force to the nine archons and the fifty-one Ephetæ of Draco.

lective assembly of nobles had to decide in the last resort.

In the second half of the eighth and the first half of the seventh century Chalcis and Eretria in Eubœa had acquired the chief rank at sea by their navigation and colonisation. Corinth had planted colonies in the west, Megara in Sicily and on the Bosphorus. The power and importance to which her neighbours had attained compelled Attica at this period to extend her military organisation. Navigation was not unknown to the Attic peninsula. We have seen that Attica, even in ancient times, belonged to the sacrificial community of mariners on the east coast of Hellas. We have spoken of her entrance into the sacrificial league of the Ionians in the Cyclades and the Ionians of Asia at Delos. It became necessary, as the strength of the nobles no longer seemed sufficient for the defence of the country, or at any rate the coasts, against the growing power and war-fleets of neighbouring states, to enlist the rest of the population, especially the peasants, for military service, that in case of need the triremes of Chalcis, Eretria, Corinth, and Megara might be confronted with similar vessels, and that Attica might be provided with a marine. These large ships of war, introduced about fifty years previously, were beyond the power of the nobles to equip; they could not furnish or maintain the rowers, nor were their vassals sufficiently numerous for the purpose. The new expenses must be undertaken by the state, and the burdens and contributions must be equitably divided. The tribal associations, the phratriæ and *gentes*, did not supply the requisite machinery, either for the regular contribution of money for the building and maintenance of ships, or for the constant supply

of seamen. The four tribes had originally been territorial unions of warlike and priestly families, of compatriots; but the distribution among them of immigrant families, the equalisation of the *gentes* in the tribes, the new settlements and changes of property, introduced in the course of centuries, had long destroyed the ancient local ties. Ties of kindred, natural or artificial, family associations, *i.e.* corporative unions, had taken the place of the local combinations, which from the first were somewhat more elastic. The new levies must therefore be made according to another system, that of local proximity; the land must be divided into districts, as equal in extent as possible, and to each district an equal share in the contribution must be assigned.

This new organisation is said to have been introduced about the middle of the seventh century, side by side with the ancient associations of tribes, phratriæ, and *gentes*. Forty-eight local districts called naucrariæ were formed; and each of these had to undertake the building, equipment, and support of a trireme, and also to furnish its crew. To these new districts the nobles belonged not by virtue of their tribe or *gens*, but according to the position of their estates. Both the nobles and the peasants of a district had to bear the expense of building and maintaining one trireme. In the event of war the nobles of the district had to go on board as commanders, steersmen, and warriors, the peasants as rowers, the fishermen of the coast as sailors. The name of one only of these districts has been handed down to us—that of the naucrary of Colias, called after the promontory on the south coast of Attica.[1] We learn that the overseer of this district imposed the public contributions, *i.e.* he apportioned

[1] Phot. *Lex.* Κωλιάς.

and collected them; and their name "shipmasters" shows that, if they were not commanders of the trireme of their district, they at least superintended its construction and equipment.[1] Thus the population settled among the families was obliged to contribute not only

[1] In regard to the naucrariæ we are dependent on very meagre notices. That they existed before Solon, before the year 600 B.C., we know from Herod. 5, 71. For the derivation of the word we must resort either to *ναίειν* or *ναῦς*. We are told that *ναύκληρος* may also signify the master of the house, and that Hyperides used *ναύκληρος* in an unusual sense for the collector of the rent of a house, or block of houses (Pollux, 1, 75; Harpocrat. *Ναύκληρος*; Suidas, *Ναύκληρος. Ναυκραρία*). But what is gained by this explanation? Pollux (8, 108) writes: *ναυκραρία δ' ἑκάστη παρεῖχε ναῦν μίαν ἀφ' ἧς ἴσως ὠνόμασται*; but immediately after he says that the naucrariæ were subsequently called demes, that the naucrari divided the expenditure among the demes, and collected their shares from them. At a later time they were called demarchs. This is confirmed by Aristotle's Athenian constitution: "Clisthenes gave the same functions to the demarchs which had previously belonged to the naucrari;" but he adds, *καὶ γὰρ τοὺς δήμους ἀντὶ τῶν ναυκραριῶν ἐποίησεν*; *Schol.* Aristoph. *Νεφ.* 37; Harpocrat. *δήμαρχος* and *ναυκραρικά*. We read also in Photius: *ναυκραρία μὲν ὅπερ οἶόν τι ἡ συμμορία καὶ ὁ δῆμος*. In place of the ancient districts, the naucrariæ, Clisthenes instituted new divisions, *i.e.* local communes. As every naucraria provided a ship, and Pollux (making them coincide in a very mistaken manner with the divisions of the tribes) places the number at forty-eight, more than which could not be ascribed to Attica at that time (even after the time of Clisthenes it did not possess more than fifty triremes), we may suppose that there were forty-eight local districts over which naucrari presided; Herodotus' *πρυτάνιες τῶν ναυκράρων* must be *τῶν ναυκραριῶν*. The prytanees of the naucrariæ must themselves have been the naucrari. If this be not admitted we must suppose that the naucrariæ were local communes, and not districts, and that a prytanis presided over the naucrariæ as comprehending a certain number of these local communes. But we are told that Clisthenes first put "the local communes in the place of the naucrariæ:" if the naucrariæ were already local communes this would only have been a highly unnecessary change of name. I therefore maintain the opinion that the naucrariæ were forty-eight territorial districts, and the prytanes of the naucrariæ were naucrari, *i.e.* heads of these forty-eight districts. For the introduction of this anti-aristocratic organisation I see only one imperative reason—namely, the necessity of making the population outside the *γένη* amenable to state burdens and taxes; and I can therefore discover no other fitting occasion except the founding of the fleet, which gives us very definitely the middle of the seventh century for the commencement of this innovation.

to the sacrifices and honorary gifts, but also in a definite manner to the expenses and service of the commonwealth. We can be tolerably certain that these new duties were not confined to contributions for shipbuilding, nor personal service to the services of rowers and sailors in case of a naval war, but that the peasants served also in the land army, and that from this time it became usual to summon peasants to the field.[1] We are told that the Colacretæ (*supra*, p. 138) had to spend the naucrarica, *i.e.* the taxes of the naucrariæ, not only on the building and arming of ships, but were also commanded to defray other expenses of the state out of these moneys.[2]

Such important changes in the government and military affairs of the country could not be without influence on the constitution. It had been proved that the organisation of the state, founded on the principle of descent and relationship—the tribes, phratriæ, and *gentes*—were no longer sufficient for the purposes and necessities of the land. The districts which henceforward were to bear the public expenses had also a right to be represented in the council of the state. We do not know how the naucrari were elected; they certainly, however, did not come from the tribes, but from the local districts. Nothing could be more natural than that the government, when it had undertaken the imposition of burdens and taxes and made fresh demands, should give a hearing to the administrators

[1] Solon certainly did not introduce the employment of the zeugitæ as hoplites. His reform tends to the relief of the lower classes, not to their greater oppression; and, doubtless, the limitation of military service to those who derived more than 150 drachmæ from their landed property was an essential benefit to the poorer proprietors.

[2] *Etymolog. Magn.* p. 525; Androtion in *Schol.* Aristoph. *Aves.* 1541.

of the taxed districts; and, when questions arose as to the settlement of these imposts and the application of the moneys collected, they should consult with the naucrari. We find, in point of fact, that in the lesser council—that of the archons—held, as we have seen, in the Prytaneum, where there was a discussion of the matters that were afterwards laid before the great council of nobles, and, in case of their agreement, before the nobility collectively, the naucrari were assembled, together with the kings of tribes, and took part in the measures of the executive power.[1]

[1] Herodotus says in regard to the attempt of Cylon: "The prytanes of the naucrariæ then ruled Athens" (5, 71). Thucydides, as we have seen above, says exactly the contrary: "The archons then presided over most of the public affairs." Unless we charge Herodotus with an absolutely false statement, we must ascribe a share in the government to the naucrari, though the chief share would remain for the archons, especially the full executive power; and such a share as shown in the text would be a natural result of their position. If Herodotus uses the expression "prytanes of the naucrariæ," and not "naucrari," the reason is probably, because they sat in the Prytaneum with the archons. The authorities of Herodotus might have had a special interest in making his narrative assign to the naucrari the first position in the state. At the time when Herodotus wrote his fifth book, the Alcmæonidæ stood in need of defence. Megacles the Alcmæonid had been the first archon of that year. If the naucrari, and not the archons, had enticed the Cylonians out of the temple of Athena, there was less guilt attaching to Megacles and the Alcmæonids; and the position of Pericles, whose banishment the Lacedæmonians demanded on account of the sacrilege of his ancestors, became easier. The remark of Herodotus that "the charge of having murdered the Cylonians was raised against the Alcmæonidæ" shows this tendency in his narrative.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE IONIANS IN EUBŒA.

WITH the exception of Attica the Ionian race, once so widely spread around the isthmus, had only retained possession of the long island which lies opposite to the shores of Central Greece. The Phœnicians had not overlooked the purple mussels and the ores of Eubœa. Traces of their early colonisation still remained in cults and legends, in the special skill of the Eubœans in the working of bronze, and in the name Chalcis, which, in ancient times, was given to the whole island (vol. i. p. 69, note 3). Traversed from end to end by rocky mountains, broken by ravines, there is nowhere space in the island for cultivation, except in the central portion of the west coast, which forms a plain of considerable extent, looking towards the mainland. But the heights afford magnificent pastures, and to this the island owes its name, which signifies "good pasture for cattle." From the Abantes, a nation of Ionic race which had inhabited the island, it is called Abantis by the poets;[1] and, even in later times, we find a tribe of the city of Chalcis still bearing this name.[2] That the Abantes had intimate relations with their kinsmen in Attica is evident from the legend which represents Cecrops or Pandorus, son of Erechtheus, as peopling

[1] *Il.* 2, 536; *Schol.* Aristoph. *Nub.* 213; Steph. Byz. Ἀβαντίς.
[2] *Rhein. Mus.* 1847, p. 483.

the island; Alcon, the grandson of Cecrops, as escaping thither; the two chief cities, as founded by Athenians—Chalcis by Cothus, and Eretria by Æclus;[1] and Theseus as adopting the fashion of the Abantes, who wore their hair cut short on the forehead, but long behind.[2] The colonisation of Eubœa by Athens is no doubt a later invention of the Athenians, who sought in this manner to establish their title to the island which they governed.

The legend of course assigns to the Abantes Abas for their tribal hero and ancestor; his son was Chalcodon, "bronze tooth," whose name is obviously borrowed from the bronze work of the island. The conflict of Chalcodon with Erechtheus of Athens has been previously mentioned (vol. i. p. 105). To Elephenor the son of Chalcodon Theseus, when retiring before Menestheus, confided his sons Acamas and Demophon.[3] During the migrations the Ionians in Eubœa were reinforced by their fellow-tribesmen from Bœotia, who took refuge among them from the inroads of the Arnæans. That the population of Eubœa was increased is shown by the fact that inhabitants of that island joined the stream of emigration which flowed, chiefly from Attica to the Cyclades and the coast of Asia. Abantes, under King Amphiclus, colonised the island of Chios (vol. i. p. 265); one of the three tribes of the new city of Erythræ bore the name of Chalcis, and Chalcidians are also mentioned among the inhabitants of Teos.[4]

The advantages resulting from the spread of the

[1] Strabo, p. 446; Scymn. Ch. 572 *sqq.*; Plut. *Quæst. Græc.* 22; Velleius, 1, 4.

[2] Plut. *Thes.* 5.

[3] *Il.* 4, 464; Plut. *Thes.* 35; Pausan. 1, 17, 6; vol. i. p. 107.

[4] Pausan. 7, 5, 4; Strabo, p. 644; *C.I.G.* No. 3103; vol. i. pp. 267, 268.

Ionian race over the islands of the Ægean Sea and the opposite coast fell to the two chief cities of Eubœa, and not to the state from which the emigration had chiefly proceeded. Not Attica, but Chalcis and Eretria reaped the harvest. They attained in this period to a degree of importance which threw Attica greatly into the shade. Both cities lay upon the western coast of Eubœa; Chalcis on the narrowest part of the strait, and Eretria a few miles to the south, on the same shore. If by the Chalcidians in Erythræ and Teos we are to understand inhabitants of Chalcis and its territory, and not of the whole island (which is the more likely, as side by side with them emigrant Abantes are mentioned), Chalcis must have already existed in the period of the migrations. Of the history of the Chalcidians and Eretrians under the monarchy nothing is known. Some verses, however, manifestly interpolated into the *Works and Days*, relate that Hesiod of Ascra had passed over the sound to Chalcis to attend the funeral games of the brave Amphidamas, at which his sons had offered prizes to all who came. There Hesiod had carried off a prize with his hymn—a tripod with handles, and had dedicated it to the muses on Mount Helicon.[1] Later writers exaggerated this into a contest of song between Homer and Hesiod. The author of the "*ἀγὼν* of Hesiod and Homer" says that Amphidamas, king of Chalcis, was succeeded in the government by Panides, his brother. But Ganyctor, the son of Amphidamas, invited the most famous men to his father's funeral; and King Panides himself, with the chief Chalcidians, adjudged the prizes at the contests, and gave the wreath to Hesiod with the remark that it was right that he who exhorted men to agri-

[1] *Opp.* 655 *sqq.*

culture and to peace should be victorious over the poet who sang of war and slaughter. According to Plutarch, who declares these verses of the *Works and Days* to be nonsense, Amphidamas of Chalcis was a statesman, who, after giving much trouble to the Eretrians, fell in the battles about the Lelantian plain. In another passage, which has only come down to us in extracts, Plutarch further asserts that in the war with Eretria, concerning the Lelantian territory, Amphidamas fell in a naval engagement.[1] There were long and severe struggles between Chalcis and Eretria on the subject of the plain which lies between the two cities, and was traversed by the river Lelantus; that there may also have been conflicts at sea is not impossible. According to Thucydides, the Greeks fought their first naval battle in the year 664 B.C.[2] This would make the date of Amphidamas later than that year. But as the statement no doubt applies to formal engagements at sea after the introduction of triremes, and encounters of armed vessels must have taken place long before, no precise information as to date is to be gained from this evidence. The tradition that a king named Amphidamas once reigned over Chalcis, and that at his funeral Hesiod gained the prize with his hymn, is therefore all that remains to us.

Whatever may be the truth as to Amphidamas and the date of his reign, it is certain that, about the middle of the eighth century, the monarchy in Eubœa fell, and was succeeded in Chalcis and Eretria by the rule of the *gentes*.[3] Aristotle tells us that in ancient times in these two cities, as in most of the cities of Asia, the fighting

[1] *Sept. Sapient. Conv.* 10. [2] *Supra*, p. 49.

[3] Aristot. ap. Strab. p. 447. At the time when the colonies in Sicily were founded the "Hippobotæ" were in power, *i.e.* after 740 B.C.

power was in the hands of the cavalry, and that the government belonged to the knights, who fought on horseback.[1] The extensive pastures on the mountains of Eubœa were favourable to the breeding of horses. The nobles who ruled in Chalcis were distinguished by the name of "Hippobotæ," that is, "breeders of horses"—Herodotus calls them the opulent, "the fat."[2] As to particular ordinances, we hear only that no person could succeed to any office who had not passed his fiftieth year[3]—a distinctly aristocratic and conservative regulation; and Strabo says that the Hippobotæ presided over the city according to their census; but this refers to a later form of the constitution which substituted property for right of birth. This horse-loving, horse-breeding aristocracy of Chalcis and Eretria, who fought on horseback, after the decline of the ancient naval power of Argos, had in the eighth and seventh centuries surpassed the maritime achievements of Corinth and Megara, and attained the supremacy on the Ægean, and more especially to the west. Of Colophon, also, Strabo tells us that her chief glory lay in her horses and ships; but the navy of Colophon has hardly left a trace of its activity, whereas that of Chalcis, by its commerce and settlements, exercised a most important influence on the Ionians generally, and also on the Thracians, Sicels, and Osci.

Among the Greeks in the peninsula, besides the coinage and weights and measures of Phidon, we find that another standard was in use, which eventually received the name of the Eubœan talent. This system must first have been employed in Chalcis and Eretria, from which centre it spread side by side with the

[1] *Polit.* 4, 3, 2 = 1289 *b* 39. [2] Herod. 5, 77.
[3] Heracl. Pont. *Fragm.* 31 M.

standard of Phidon. The latter was based on the Babylonian-Phœnician silver talent of 67½ lbs. (*supra*, p. 24); the Eubœan talent coincides with the weight of the light Babylonian talent of 50½ lbs. The Phocæans had adjusted their coinage according to the heavy Babylonian gold talent; the light Babylonian gold talent, which was the half of the heavy, was known to the Lydians,[1] and probably to the Ionian cities of Asia Minor. We have seen that emigrants from the city of Chalcis in Eubœa had settled at Erythræ and Teos. Here the Chalcidians and Eretrians must have learned this system, which, being found practicable, they introduced into their native country.[2] And we find Chalcis and Eretria in possession of something more than a special coinage. As they had introduced or maintained their talent in opposition to the coinage of Phidon, so, in opposition to the ancient alphabet which had emanated from Argos, they arrived at another alphabet which contained the signs + (χ) and Ψ (ψ) for ξ and χ, and expressed ψ by a separate sign (vol. i., end). The Chalcidians are said to have extended this alphabet from Eubœa and Thessaly to Central Greece, and it is certain that they brought it by means of their colonies to Sicily and to the tribes of the Osci.[3]

We may confidently assume that Chalcis and

[1] *Infra*, chap. 10; Brandis, *Münzwesen*, p. 168.

[2] The oldest silver coins of Chalcis that have been preserved, stamped with the wheel, and later with the flying eagle, no doubt belong to the seventh century.

[3] The oldest inscription of Chalcis is on a bronze statuette belonging to the sixth century—Köhler, *Mittheilungen des Archæologischen Instituts*, I, 97 ff. Of older date, running from right to left and boustrophedon, are some inscriptions from Cyme in Campania, and on some archaic vases discovered both in Upper and Lower Italy. Kirchhoff, *Studien*, p. 108 ff.

Eretria had carried on commerce with their Ionian countrymen on the other side of the Ægean Sea since the beginning of the eighth century, that their navigation had thereby been improved, and that they profited by these relations, not only in regard to the establishment of a new and independent medium of exchange, but in other branches of culture. The Chalcidians took possession of the islands to the north of Eubœa—Sciathos, Icos, and Peparethos—and colonised them; the Eretrians subjugated those to the south—Andros, Tenos, and Ceos.[1] Both Chalcis and Eretria must have found that their weapons, their bronze implements and pottery, and other products of Greek workmanship could be disposed of to great advantage on the north coast of the Ægean Sea among the Thracians.

Among the earliest colonies sent out from Chalcis were the numerous settlements on the Thracian coast. Their object at first can hardly have extended beyond providing stations and refuges for commerce. The coast of Thrace, between the mouths of the Axius and Strymon, runs out in three points far into the Ægean Sea. This was the domain of the Thracian tribes of the Crestonæans, Sithonians, and Bisaltæ. Greeks from the valley of the Peneus, exiled from the Pelasgiotis, to whom the name of Pelasgians still clung, had built small towns and strong towers on the most easterly of the three tongues of land, which advances farthest (30 miles) into the sea.[2] This peninsula is traversed by a woody ridge which, near the neck, is only a few hundred feet high, but, becoming more and more lofty, reaches its culminating point in Mount Athos, a rugged precipice towering 6500 feet above

[1] Scymn. Ch. 579-585; Strabo, p. 448.
[2] Herodot. 1, 57; Thucydides, 4, 109; vol. i. p. 22.

the sea, into which it precipitously descends. The two deep bays formed by the three peninsulas, favourably situated for commerce, and affording the safest anchorage, must have tempted the ships of Chalcis to this coast. Mercantile transactions were soon followed by settlements, the advantages of which were increased by abundance of metals contained in the wooded ranges which rise to a moderate height on the two western peninsulas. On the southern point of the middle promontory (called Sithonia from the Thracian tribe of that name) the Chalcidians built Torone and Sarte; and in the deep bay between Sithonia and Pallene (the western promontory), Mecyberna and Sermyle;[1] on the peninsula of Mount Athos, where they founded Cleonæ or took it from the Pelasgiots, they were victorious, not only over the Thracians, but over the colonies of the older emigrants.[2]

Eretria followed the lead of the Chalcidians. About the year 730 B.C. colonists from that city founded Methone on the shore of the Gulf of Therma;[3] on Pallene, the western promontory, they built Mende and some other towns.[4] But the Chalcidian colonies maintained the ascendency. At any rate the cities on the promontories were included under the appellation of "the Chalcidian cities," to which the name of Chalcis for the island of Eubœa may have contributed. The whole territory of the three promontories was known as the Chalcidian land, and received the name of Chalcidice. Thirty-two places were enumerated there at a later period which had been founded by the Chalcidians (and Eretrians).[5]

[1] Thucyd. 1, 65, 4, 109, 110; Herod. 7, 122, 123.
[2] Heracl. Pont. 31.
[3] Plut. *Quæst. Græc.* 11.
[4] Strabo, pp. 436, 447.
[5] Thucyd. 1, 58; Demosthen. *in Philip.* 3, p. 117 R.

Still more important than the establishing of Greek life on the Thracian promontories between the mouths of the Axius and Strymon, was the opening, if not the discovery, of the way to Sicily, which the Greeks owed to the Eretrians, Chalcidians, and Naxians. At an early period—after the middle of the eighth century—Eretrians are said to have attempted to settle in Corcyra.[1] "The first Hellenic colonists," says Thucydides, "sailed from Chalcis in Eubœa to Sicily under the leadership of Theocles. Here they built Naxos, and erected an altar to Apollo Archegetes (that is the chief Leader), which is still standing without the city." The account of Ephorus is as follows: "The Greeks had not dared to sail to Sicily, because of the barbarous inhabitants of that country and the piratical expeditions of the Tyrrhenians, when Theocles, an Athenian, was driven there by stress of weather. He perceived the weakness of the islanders and the excellence of the land. On his return he tried in vain to persuade the Athenians to colonise Sicily, but many Chalcidians from Eubœa followed him and some other Ionians, and founded the city of Naxos." Neither Thucydides nor Hellanicus mentions the Attic descent of Theocles;[2] the latter, indeed, distinctly calls him a Chalcidian. The name bestowed on the new city seems to indicate that the home of the "other Ionians" of Ephorus, who went to Sicily with Theocles, was the island of Naxos.

It was in the year 735 B.C. that the foundations of the city of Naxos, the first Greek colony in Sicily, were laid.[3] It was situated on the east coast, the side

[1] Plut. *Quæst. Græc.* 11; *supra*, p. 44.

[2] Thucyd. 6, 3; Ephorus, *Fragm.* 52; Hellanic. *Fragm.* 50 M.

[3] Holm, *Gesch. Siciliens*, 1, 381 ff. Ephorus, as may be seen from

nearest the Greek peninsula; under the steep precipices of Mount Taurus, on a promontory jutting out into the sea, and towering high above it; the adjacent portion of the island was covered with vines, and the soil was fruitful.[1] We have already seen (*supra*, p. 39) how immediately Corinth followed on the path that was opened by Theocles, and how determined she was not to abandon the west to the Chalcidians and Naxians. The new city of Naxos must have succeeded so rapidly, and the fame of the wealth of the newly-discovered country in sheep, oxen, and fruit of every kind, must have attracted such crowds from Chalcis to Naxos that Theocles, six years after the founding of Naxos, was ready to undertake a second colony.

The most fertile tracts of the island lay to the south of Etna. Hither Theocles led his second band of followers, overcame the Sicels in battle, drove them back,[2] and built Leontini, some miles from the summit of Mount Etna, and about five from the coast (729 B.C.). The choice of this place shows that it was intended chiefly for the pursuit of agriculture. Immediately after, Evarchus, who had been chosen as leader by an emigrant band from the island of Naxos, allured by the fame of the fruitfulness of Sicily, founded Catana upon the very slopes of Etna, just where they fall into the sea, among oak woods and luxuriant vines.[3] The situation was most favourable, and there was a harbour; but, on the other hand, the inhabitants were exposed

Scymn. Ch. 273, placed the founding of Naxos in the tenth generation after the Trojan war. Elsewhere, also, this traveller reiterates the statements of Ephorus in regard to the Attic descent of Theocles, and asserts quite as emphatically that the Chalcidians gave the fleet, and that Ionian settlers were said to have been allied with them.

[1] Holm, *loc. cit.* p. 120. [2] Thucyd. 6, 3.

[3] Thucyd. 6, 3; Strabo, pp. 267, 268.

to the eruptions of the mountain. Thus Greek cities arose near and upon the "pillar which uprears itself to heaven," as Pindar says; "the sustainer of snows throughout the year, from whose depths break fountains of unapproachable fire, streams of glowing smoke, whose lurid flame through the night hurls stones clashing into the deep of the sea; fearful torrents does the serpent of Hephæstus send down; a wonder to behold, ay, and for those who were there, a wonder it was to hear how, on the dark and woody summits of Etna, he is bound, and on the plain, and his thorny bed scores all his back as he reclines thereon."[1]

Not very long after the founding of Leontini and Catana, the Chalcidians came to settle on the western coast of Italy, at the north-east corner of Sicily, on the strait separating that island from the mainland, and almost at its narrowest part. To them belongs the honour of having built the first Greek town not only in Sicily, but also in Italy. Opposite the northern point of a deep bay formed by the Tyrrhene Sea between Mount Gaurus and the promontory afterwards called Athenæum, lies an island, Ænaria, and close to it, another smaller island called Prochyte. These islands, now called Ischia and Procida, were colonised not long after the founding of Naxos by emigrants from Chalcis and Eretria, who from hence, about the year 725 B.C., laid the foundations of Cyme on the ridge of the opposite peninsula,[2] having repulsed the Osci who had previously dwelt there.[3] Pirates of this

[1] Pind. *Pyth.* 1, 35 *sqq.* [2] Strabo, pp. 242, 247.

[3] The statements of the chronographers as to the antiquity of the Italian Cyme are dubious. The Armenian Eusebius does not mention the founding of the city. In Jerome we find, between the founding of Magnesia in Asia, of Myrena (or Micena), and of Ephesus, in the year 968 Abrah., the words, *Mycena in Italia condita;* the conclusion of the

new city, according to Thucydides, founded the harbour citadel of Zancle (about 720 B.C.), on the straits of Sicily on a tongue of the island stretching out in the form of a sickle into the sea. This place took its name from the configuration of the ground; the

sentence *vel Cumæ* is wanting in one MS. Myrena or Mycena is probably Myrina. The name Myrina is not peculiar to the city in Æolis. Diodorus says that Myrina the Amazon founded Cyme, Priene, Pitana, and Mytilene (3, 55); in Lemnos, also, and Crete there were cities of that name. If Mycena were the name employed this appellation would be more suitable to the Asiatic Cyme, which was ruled by descendants of the Atridæ, than to the Cyme in Italy. In Syncellus (p. 340 Bonn), after the founding of Myrina, "which by some is called Smyrna," and the founding of Ephesus, there follow these words: Κύμη ἐκτίσθη ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, whereas, here also, we might rather expect to have been told the date of the founding of Cyme ἐν Ἀσίᾳ. I have no doubt that the year Abrah. 968 (in Jerome equal to 1046 B.C. and 1051 B.C. in Syncellus) denotes the founding of the Æolian Cyme. The confusion is of Roman origin. Since Virgil made Æneas arrive on the shore of the "Eubœan Cumæ," in order there to receive the oracles of the Cumæan Sibyl (*Æn.* 6, 1 *sqq.*), the Romans were forced to represent the founding of Cumæ as anterior to the founding of Rome. According to Solinus the Eubœans build Cumæ after Ascanius has built Alba Longa. Velleius, like Jerome, places the founding of the Italian Cyme immediately after the founding of Magnesia, and before the Ionian migration. He thus shows that he was using a chronological table, which, at any rate in this case, coincided with the authority of Jerome, and was probably that of Apollodorus. The placing of Cyme immediately after Magnesia proves that the authority of Velleius was also referring to the Æolian Cyme. But Athens, according to Velleius, also founded Chalcis and Eretria in Eubœa; the Chalcidians who, under Attic leaders, Hippocles and Megasthenes, founded Cumæ, were of this descent; they were guided by flying doves and by sounding brass in the night-time. Strabo discards the miracles of the legend, but introduces the Æolian Cymæans as having assisted in the founding of the city. Cumæ, according to this account, is the most ancient Greek city in Italy and Sicily; Hippocles of Cyme and Megasthenes of Chalcis together found the new city, the first giving it a name, and the other being the actual founder; thus it was called Cyme. Equally marvellous with this union of a man of Cyme in Asia with a man of Chalcis for the building of a city on the distant Tyrrhene Sea, is the lion-treaty which they conclude with one another. Finally Strabo himself cancels his story, for he says in conclusion: "The town, however, seems to have been built by Chalcidians" (p. 243). The participation of the Æolian Cyme in the founding of Cumæ is an invention, based upon the similarity of names, to which the Eubœan Cyme (Steph. Byz. *sub voce*), which Bursian identifies with the

sickle was called by the Sicels, Zancle or Dancle. The first settlers were subsequently strengthened by reinforcements from Chalcis and the rest of the Eubœa, who divided the district with them, so that the city had to worship two founders instead of one—Perieres the Italian from Cyme, and Cratæmenes of

modern Koume, may have contributed. Ephorus of Cyme must have given authority to this combination, in honour of his native city, for against him the observation of Strabo that "the city seems to have been founded by Chalcidians" is no doubt directed. The removal of the Sibyl of Mount Ida, the Sibyl of the Æolian Cyme, and of Erythræ to Cumæ, also determined this combination, even more effectually than the similarity of names and the Eubœan Cyme. Accordingly, we must simply hold to the Chalcidian origin of Cumæ, as related by Thucydides, and confirmed by the alphabet common to the Italian Cyme and the other colonies of Chalcis. Had Cumæ been in truth older than Naxos, Thucydides would have had every reason for mentioning this when he was giving the Chalcidian colonies in order of date (Thucyd. 6, 2-4). Immediately after describing Naxos as the oldest colony of the Hellenes in Sicily, he speaks of "Cyme, the Chalcidian city in the country of the Opicians." Nothing would have been more obvious than to have observed that this Cyme was older than Naxos, had he so believed, or had this opinion existed in his time. That Cumæ was less ancient than the Sicilian Naxos is shown by the fact that Apollo, to whom Theocles, as Archegetes, had built that altar, was also the tutelary god of the fortress of Cumæ (Serv. *ad Æn.* 6, 9); Apollo had conducted the Chalcidians hither, and the graves of Cumæ contain no objects of greater antiquity than those discovered in the tombs of the ancient Sicilian cities (Helbig, *Annali del Inst. Arch.* 1876, p. 231). Lastly, the whole historical and geographical situation decidedly countenances the theory that Cyme was built after Naxos. How could the Greeks, before they had set foot in Sicily, have sailed through the strait, or round the island, in order to settle themselves far to the north, on the shore of the Tyrrhene Sea? I can only endorse the observation of Kuno, that "to make the western colonisation begin with Cyme is much the same as to represent the Ionian colonisation in the east as beginning with the founding of Sinope or Panticapæum" (*N. Z. f. Ph.* 1878, p. 806). But if it be proved that the date of the Æolian Cyme has been transferred to the Italian city of that name, the place of the latter in the series of Chalcidian colonies is only to be determined by the fact that Cyme is later than Naxos, and, according to Thucydides, earlier than Zancle, the founding of which cannot be placed later than 716 B.C., on account of the participation of the Messenians in the settlement of Rhegium. The date intermediate between 735 B.C. and 716 B.C. would be 725 B.C.

Chalcis.[1] The inhabitants of this new settlement, according to the testimony of Antiochus, were determined to get into their hands the entire command of the strait on which it was situated. The colonisation of the opposite coast of Italy depended upon this. The Zanclæans applied to Chalcis, their mother city, from which they obtained emigrants, and these, together with the Zanclæans appointed Antimnestus as the leader and ruler of the new colony. Under his command the city of Rhegium was built at the mouth of the Apsias (about 715 B.C.).[2] Heraclides of Pontus says that Chalcidians of Euripus (*i.e.* of Eubœa), driven by famine from their home, built Rhegium, having taken with them some exiled Messenians from the Peloponnesus. They had received an oracle that the right place for the settlement would be where the woman should embrace the man.[3] The constitution of the new state was aristocratic. A fragment of Dionysius tells us that Artimedes of Chalcis received an oracle, bidding him remain where he should find a man embraced by a woman, and to sail no farther. As he was sailing round Palantium in Italy he saw a fig-tree encircled by a vine,—the tree he supposed to be the man, the vine the woman, and the manner of growth the embrace. So he drove out the barbarians, who inhabited the country, and here planted his settlement. The place was called Rhegium, either because the cliffs were steep and ragged, or because the land was broken and torn away from Sicily, or from the name of a man, who here bore rule.[4]

[1] Thucyd. 6, 4; Pausan. 4, 23, 7. The notice of Eusebius: *In Sicilia Cherrenus condita est* in *Olymp.* 16, 1, or 716 B.C., points to Zancle.

[2] Antiochus ap. Strab. p. 257. [3] Heracl. Pont. 25.

[4] Dionys. Hal. 17, 3; Timæus, *Fragm.* 64 M.

Diodorus says that the Chalcidians sent out a tenth part of their number. The consecrated band inquired at Delphi where they should settle? and received for answer: "Where the most holy Apsias falls into the sea, there the woman embraces the man; there found a city: it will give you the land of the Ausonians."[1] Strabo says: "Rhegium was founded by the Chalcidians, who, because their land was unfruitful, had dedicated to Apollo a tenth of their youth in consequence of an oracle; this course was prescribed to them at Delphi, after they had taken with them other countrymen from home."[2] As we have already seen, it was the Messenians, conquered by the Spartans, who allied themselves with the emigrant Chalcidians after the fall of the citadel on Mount Ithome.

The Zanclæans, as Antiochus asserts, had been the cause of the foundation of Rhegium, and assisted in the work, and sixty years after they sent out an independent and more distant colony from their own city into Sicily. Considerably to the west of Zancle, on the north coast of the island, at the mouth of the Himera, near the ancient Phœnician towns of Soloeis, Panormus, and Eryx, the Zanclæans, under the leadership of Euclides, Simus, and Sacon, in the year 649 B.C., founded a city which received the name of the river on which it was built. The fugitive Dorians remained in the minority as compared with the Chalcidians; they had, it is true, some effect on the Ionic dialect of the population, but Chalcidian customs, rights, and laws were fully established in Himera.[3]

In the course of eighty or ninety years the Chalcidians had succeeded in founding three colonies on the

[1] *Excerpt. Vatic.* pp. 11, 12 = 8, 23; *lib.* 14, 40. [2] Strabo, p. 257.
[3] Thucyd. 6, 5, 62; Diodor. 13, 62; 240 + 409 = 649 B.C.

east coast of Sicily, in establishing a harbour fortress on each side of the strait between that island and Italy, which ensured the safety of ships on the voyage to Cyme, their farthest destination on the Tyrrhene Sea; and lastly, in gaining a footing on the western portion of the north Sicilian coast. The stations which the Phœnicians had held on the east coast of Sicily gave way before them, and before the colonies of the Dorians, who followed in the wake of the Chalcidians, as they had disappeared from the Cyclades before the Ionians. In comparison with the helpless Sicels, living under the most primitive conditions, the Chalcidians in possession of higher culture, better weapons, and more vigorous vital force, were at least as much superior as the Phœnicians had once been to their own ancestors on the coasts of Eubœa; and not only as compared with the Sicels, but also with the races of Italy. From the Chalcidian city of Cyme, the Osci, Umbrians, Messapians, and Etruscans received their written characters; it is the Chalcidian alphabet, with its peculiar signs for Gamma and Lambda, for Xi and Chi which underlies the forms of their letters.[1]

While the Chalcidians were vigorously prosecuting their colonisation, and one settlement after another arose upon the shores of Italy and Sicily, while the Osci were using weapons and pottery of Eubœan origin, and borrowing their writing from the Chalcidian alphabet, Chalcis herself was involved at home in long and stubborn conflicts with her neighbour Eretria. Chalcis had extended her territory in Eubœa northwards as

[1] Kirchhoff, *Studien*[3], pp. 103, 109, 115 ff, 121 ff. The commencement of the use of writing among the Etruscans is placed in the last decades of the eighth century and the first of the seventh; Helbig, *Annal. del Inst. Arch.* 1876, pp. 227, 230.

far as Hestiæa; and on the east coast possessed the harbour town of Cerinthus.[1] The domain of Eretria extended to the south beyond Tamynæ, and also to the coast of the Ægean Sea,[2] over the mountains. Here, in the south, Carystus, which about the middle of the eighth century was at strife with Miletus (chapter 10), and Styra, both settlements of the Dryopes, remained, as far as can be seen, independent (vol. i. p. 210). The territory and military resources of the Eretrians were considerable, and those of Andros, Tenos, and Ceos were also at their disposal. A memorial stone in the temple of Artemis Amarysia, the tutelary goddess of Eretria (vol. i. p. 70), records that the Eretrians once sent a festal procession to this temple with sixty chariots, six hundred knights, and three thousand heavy-armed soldiers. The most fertile part of Eubœa, the Lelantian plain, lay between Chalcis and Eretria. Being extensive and productive enough to be subsequently divided into four thousand peasant-lots, it was naturally the apple of discord between the two cities. The disputes concerning the Lelantian territory must have been begun about the year 700 B.C. Archilochus sings thus of them in the first half of the seventh century. "There not many bows are drawn, nor do the stones fly fast from the sling, when Ares leads the battle in the plain. To the sword will belong the work that causes many groans. For skilled in this warfare are they, the spear-renowned lords of Eubœa."[3] Another memorial stone in the temple of Artemis at Amarynthus, testifies that Chalcis and Eretria had agreed to use no missiles in their wars with each

[1] *Il.* 2, 538; Theogn. *Fragm.* 891 Bergk, and *infra*, Book 5, chap. 14.

[2] Herod. 6, 101.

[3] Plut. *Thes.* 5.

other.[1] This was a renunciation not only of bows and slings, but of javelins, a weapon which the Ætolians and Acarnanians long retained, and also of light-armed troops, which the Spartans, even in the seventh century, did not disdain to employ side by side with their hoplites;[2] it was, moreover, an unmistakable expression of knightly feeling which would only permit of fighting man to man. The "Catalogue of Ships," in the *Iliad*, which, as we have seen (vol. i. p. 455, note), was compiled in the second half of the seventh century, represents the men of Chalcis and Eretria, of the naval city of Cerinthus, of the wine-producing Hestiæa in the north, and Carystus and Styra in the south of Eubœa, as armed with the spear; they are called "the spear-armed men who press forward with ashen shafts in rest to pierce the corselets on the breasts of the foe."[3] "In the war with the Eretrians," says Plutarch, referring to Aristotle, "the Chalcidians could withstand the infantry of the enemy, but not the cavalry;" a statement which would seem very extraordinary, considering the devotion of the nobles of Chalcis to horse-breeding, from which indeed they received their designation, unless we suppose that the Lelantian territory only fell to Chalcis at the close of this war, which was decided against Eretria. Reinforcements from their Thracian colonies came to the help of the Chalcidians, and Thessalian horsemen under the leadership of Cleomachus. The Chalcidians asked Cleomachus, a man of pre-eminent courage, before all things to attack the cavalry of Eretria. Taking the best of the Thessalians, he made such a furious onslaught, that the Eretrian knights fell into disorder and fled. The Chalcidians having also put the hoplites to

[1] Strabo, p. 448. [2] *Infra*, Book 4, ch. 8. [3] *Il.* 2, 536 *sqq.*

flight, they gained a great victory. Cleomachus, who had decided the battle, was killed. The Chalcidians decreed him honours, and "buried his corpse in the market-place; on his grave there stands a great pillar to this day."[1]

"In ancient times," says Thucydides, "the wars of the Greeks were carried on against their neighbours; after the Trojan war they did not form voluntary leagues or make expeditions on an equal footing, nor were they as yet ranged under the command of the greater cities. It was in the ancient conflict between the Chalcidians and the Eretrians that the rest of the Hellenes were most divided, some taking the one part, and some the other."[2] Plutarch expressly mentions that when the crisis of the war drew near the Chalcidians were supported by their colonies in Thrace, and by the Thessalian cavalry. Herodotus says that the Samians also sent help to them, while the Milesians zealously and persistently embraced the side of the Eretrians.[3] These succours from Miletus may have had their origin in the fact that Miletus, while still under the dominion of its princes of the race of Neleus, had been at war with the Dryopes of Carystus in Eubœa, and, no doubt, may then have supported Eretria, whose interest it was to bring the south of the island under subjection to itself (*infra*, chap. 10). We can only fix approximately the period when the repeated conflicts between Chalcis and Eretria attained the dimensions of a great war; it was probably towards the middle of the seventh century, about the time that Himera was founded by the Zanclæans. Chalcis was

[1] Plut. *Amator.* 17. [2] Thucyd. 1, 15.

[3] Herod. 5, 99, *συνδιήνεικαν τοῖσι Ἐρετριεῦσι τὸν πρὸς Χαλκιδέας πόλεμον.*

victorious in the struggle ; and the prize of this victory, the Lelantian territory, remained thenceforth in the undisputed possession of the Hippobotæ. Even the supremacy of Eretria over the neighbouring islands of Andros, Tenos, and Ceos seems to have been lost in consequence of this defeat.[1]

It was reserved for Chalcis and Eretria in the eighth and seventh centuries before Christ to represent the portion of the Ionians which still remained in the peninsula, to uphold and augment the ancient power and culture of that race, and to rule upon the sea, whereas Attica had only taken the first uncertain step towards the formation of a naval force before the close of this period. A vigorous, manly, and energetic race must then have inhabited these two cities, since they could undertake such voyages and colonies, and carry on protracted wars on such honourable conditions. The Greeks had an old proverb, that the best men were those who drank the water of the sacred Arethusa (the

[1] Thucydides describes this war as a war of ancient times. The period in which the tyrants appeared does not, according to him, belong to antiquity. Therefore it is impossible to fix it much later than 650 B.C. Moreover, the Ionian cities about the year 630 B.C. were occupied by the invasion of the Cimmerians, and subsequently, Miletus especially, by the attacks of the Lydian princes Ardys, Sadyattes, and Alyattes. Also the tyrant Thrasybulus of Miletus can hardly have been inclined to interest himself greatly on behalf of the aristocrats of Eretria, nor could he have possessed resources sufficient to assist them. Lastly, if Andros founded independent colonies, such as Acanthus and Stagirus, according to the date of Eusebius, in 1362 Abrah. = *Olymp.* 31, 3, or 654 B.C., the dominion of Eretria over Andros must then have been at an end. The re-establishment of the independence of the islands may be connected with the subjugation of Eretria by Chalcis. There are no positive grounds for placing the final conflict between the two cities earlier than the middle of the seventh century; and the negative grounds, such as the verse of Archilochus and the compact preserved on the stone at Amarynthus, are decidedly against it.

Chalcidians, vol. i. p. 70), the best women those of Lacedæmon, the best horses, the Thessalian.[1] The Chalcidians themselves boasted that in their cities soft Eros flourished, side by side with manly valour.[2]

[1] Strabo, p. 449.

[2] Plut. *Amator.* 17.

CHAPTER IX.

THE IONIANS IN THE CYCLADES.

THE names of the men have been preserved who led the Ionians to the Cyclades, where the Carian inhabitants and Phœnician stations were forced to yield to the new immigrants. We are told that Thersidamas conquered and colonised Ceos; Alcenor, Siphnos; Cynæthus and Eurylochus, Andros; Clytius and Melas, Paros; Archetimus and Teuclus, Naxos; Antiochus, Delos.[1] But of the history of these islands we know scarcely anything. Naxos and Paros, which lay close together, were the most important of them, and Naxos was the most fertile. The chief town of Naxos, bearing the same name, was situated on the northern shore of the island; that of Paros on its western shore. Paros worshipped the goddess of the fields, Demeter; the temple of Demeter Thesmophoros was without the gate of the city.[2] Naxos, rich in the finest wine, chiefly worshipped Dionysus and Ariadne or Ariagne.[3] The worship of Ariadne was a cult left behind in Naxos by the Phœnicians. We have already seen (vol. i. p. 121) that it was the Syrian goddess who was here adored in her fearful and destroying, as well as her fruit-bestowing, aspect. The evil goddess is changed into the joyful divinity, rich in blessings,

[1] *Schol.* Dionys. Perieg. 525.
[2] Herod. 6, 134; *Hymn. in Cerer.* 491.
[3] O. Jahn, *Vasenbilder*, p. 28.

as soon as Baal-Melkart has overtaken the fugitive and loosed her girdle. The Ionians in Naxos introduced Dionysus in place of Melkart, and celebrated the marriage of Dionysus and Ariadne, from which union, as they represented, sprang Œnopion, *i.e.* the wine man; Staphylos, *i.e.* the vine; and Euanthes, *i.e.* the fair-blooming.[1] The settlers in Delos had dedicated their rocky island, taken by them from the Carians, to Apollo; perhaps in connection with an analogous Carian worship previously found there (vol. i. p. 278). We have seen that this island very early became not only the centre of the cult of the god of light for the Cyclades, but also for the Ionians on both sides of the Ægean Sea, who found themselves assembled here, at any rate, from the beginning of the eighth century, for the sacrifice to Apollo; and we noticed that even before the beginning of that century a Messenian embassy was sent to this sacrifice in Delos (*supra*, p. 59). The part taken by the island of Naxos, together with Chalcis, in the founding of the first Greek colony in Sicily has been mentioned; the name of Naxos, given to the new city (735 B.C.), shows that the Naxians, under Chalcidian leadership, formed a large, if not the larger, proportion of the colonists.

Six years afterwards a body of Naxians, under the leadership of Euarchus, founded the city of Catana, likewise on the east coast of Sicily.[2] The Parians directed their operations to the east and north, in preference to the west. In conjunction with Miletus, they founded Parium at the junction of the Hellespont with the Propontis (708 B.C.).[3] Ceos, Tenos, and Andros became subject to the Eretrians (*supra*, p. 153).

[1] Plut. *Thes.* 20; *Schol.* Apoll. Rhod. 3, 997.
[2] Thucyd. 6, 3; Strabo, p. 268; *supra*, p. 156. [3] *Infra*, chap. 10

When these colonies were sent out, the islands were already under the rule of *gentes*. We know nothing of their institutions, and as to the life of the inhabitants, can only be certain that the cultivation of vines, corn, and oil must have been carefully and diligently pursued in the islands; heights and crags, which now only afford a bare subsistence for sheep and goats, were then crowned, as can be proved, by cities and fortresses. In Siphnos there were gold and silver mines, which doubtless had been previously worked by the Phœnicians, and were very productive in their yield.[1] A glimpse of the prosperity prevailing in the Cyclades, and among the Ionians generally, in the second half of the eighth century, is given us by a hymn composed in this period. It is a hymn of praise to the god of Delos. This seat of his worship was said to have been previously consecrated by the first appearance of the light-god, who illuminated with such bright beams the islands uprising from the blue sea; here the bright god is said to have come forth from the darkness; here Leto gave him birth. We see from this poem that the Ionians, with their wives and children, assembled from the islands from all directions to celebrate the spring sacrifice; that at this festival choric songs were sung by the maidens in honour of Apollo, that dances and gymnastic contests were held, and that the singers competed with one another in hymns to the praise of the god.

This hymn, which cannot have been sung later than the end of the eighth century,[2] describes how

[1] See Bent's *Cyclades*, p. 286 ff (Andros), 38 ff (Siphnos).

[2] The first Homeric hymn to Apollo, extending to verse 176 or 178. The prosperity of Ionia, which this hymn describes, suffered a severe shock immediately after the year 700 B.C., through the invasion of the Cimmerians. The northern boundaries are shown by the mention of "Eubœa famed for ships" (ver. 31), the colonisation of Chalcis

Leto, when the time of her delivery was near, can find no birthplace for her child; not Crete, nor Athens, nor Eubœa, nor Mount Pelion, nor the Thracian Athos, nor Phocæa, nor Lemnos, nor Imbros; neither Lesbos, Chios, nor Samos; not Mycale, Miletus, nor Clarus; not Cnidus, Naxos, or Paros, will dare to receive the goddess, for fear of the mighty one she is to bear; only barren Delos, hitherto in bad repute among men, gives her a resting-place, that it may henceforward be hallowed when Leto has sworn that so long as Apollo's altar shall smoke, and his sanctuary shall remain on the island, he will honour and protect Delos above all places. The poet concludes thus: "Many, O Phœbus, are thy temples and shady groves; all watch-towers are dear to thee, and the steep peaks of the lofty mountains, and the rivers which flow into the sea. But most of all thy heart rejoices in Delos, where the Iaones in trailing garments assemble with their children and their noble wives. In thy honour they celebrate contests of boxing, dance, and song, when the games have begun. Whoever comes there at the time when the Iaones are gathered together would think that they were immortal and unaging; for he would behold the delight of all, and his heart

and Eretria became of importance only after 750 B.C., and the stress laid (ver. 133) upon the giving of oracles by Apollo, no doubt, presupposes that Delphi had already attained a prominent position. The second hymn (vers. 176-546), wrongly appended to the first, emanates from the Bœotian school (Bergk, *Griech. Ltgscht.* vol. i. p. 755 ff). It is imitated from the first hymn, but is later, perhaps even a century later, than this. Niese has discovered in the second hymn three verses literally transferred from the Catalogue of Ships, which was also composed in Bœotia (*Homerischer Schiffskatalog*, p. 58). This Catalogue was not composed till after the year 630 B.C. (vol. i. p. 455); on the other hand, the second hymn was, undoubtedly, composed at least ten years before the sacred war; according to the hymn the temple of Delphi belongs to the Crisæans, whose city was destroyed in 586 B.C. (*infra*, Book 4, chap. 6).

would rejoice at the sight of the men and of the women with beautiful girdles, their swift ships and rich possessions. Also there is a splendid ceremony, the glory of which will never pass away, when the Delian maidens, the servants of the Far-Darter, first sing the praises of Apollo and afterwards extol Artemis, lover of the arrow, and Leto. Then they celebrate the men and women of ancient times, and charm the generations of mankind. They know how to imitate the voice and gestures of all men; so well-ordered is their song, that those whom they imitate appear themselves to speak. In fine, then, may Apollo and Artemis be gracious to me! Farewell to you all, and remember me hereafter; so that if at any time a stranger of earth-inhabiting men, one who has suffered much, shall come and ask you: 'Ye maidens, what man brings you the sweetest songs, and who delights you the most?'—ye shall answer quickly, and with kindly words: 'The blind man who dwells in rocky Chios, whose songs in time to come will also gain the prize.' But your glory we shall sound in all well-peopled cities which we visit upon earth; they will believe it, for it is true."[1]

It was probably not long after the time when this hymn was sung in Delos that the island of Paros sent out a colony of its own, which promised the greatest advantages. We know that the Phœnicians early established themselves in Thasos, near the Thracian coast; that they erected a temple there to Baal-Melkarth, the Tyrian Heracles, and eagerly sought for gold in the mines on the southern coast of the island. To conquer Thasos and its treasures was the enterprise undertaken by the Parians soon after the found-

[1] *Hymn. in Apoll.* 146-176.

ing of Parium on the Hellespont. A man of a priestly family, devoted to the service of Demeter Thesmophoros in Paros, whose name was Telesicles, grandson of Tellis, was said to have received this oracle at Delphi: "Telesicles, tell the Parians that I command thee to build a magnificent city on the island of Eeria."[1] The oracle was so interpreted that Eeria (ἠέριος signifies surrounded by vapour, by morning mist) was understood to mean Thasos, the island to the north of Paros. Thither, in the year 705 B.C. sailed colonists from Paros.[2] As to the battles which these emigrants had to fight, both in Thasos and on the opposite coast, and the misfortunes they had to encounter, we gain a few side-lights from scanty fragments of the poems of Archilochus, the son of Telesicles.

The poetry of the Greeks had advanced from the hymn to the *Epos;* side by side with the *Epos* we then find practical admonition and instruction in the verses of Hesiod on the duties of the honest man and the labour of the peasant; while the elegies of Callinus exhort to manliness and valour. From the praise of the gods and the legends of heroes, poetry had come down to the actual world and its problems; Archilochus carried it into the midst of the struggles of the day, not only those of the commonwealth, but of personal history. Not that the hymn and the elegy were alien to him. He praised the divinities of his island—Demeter and Dionysus—in lofty tones, and compared the gift of the god—the wine of the neighbouring Naxos—to nectar. "I honour," he says in his own name, "the sacrificial feast of the holy

[1] Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* 6, 7, 8; Steph. Byz. Θάσος; Pausan. 10, 28, 3.

[2] The founding of Thasos took place according to Xanthus the Lydian (Clem. *Strom.* 1, p. 398 P.), about the eighteenth Olympiad, *i.e.* 708-705 B.C.

Demeter and Core. I know how to raise the beautiful song—the dithyramb—of Dionysus our sovereign, when my soul is fired with the lightning of wine."[1] He is said to have gained a victory at Paros with a hymn to Demeter, and to have sung the Ephymnium: "Hail to thee, lord in the prize of victory, Heracles! to thee and to Iolaus, the two warrior lances; Tenella! Hail to thee, Heracles, lord in the prize of victory!"[2]

Of the personal history of Archilochus we hear very little, but we know that fortune was adverse to him. He does not seem to have followed his father to Thasos, though he did not continue in Paros very long. He turned his back on that island, "as we know from himself," observes Critias in Ælian, "through want." In Pindar we read as follows: "Far from me, I see Archilochus, well-nigh stripped of all, satisfying his hunger with sharp and hostile words." A verse among the fragments preserved from the poems of Archilochus seems to confirm these statements: "Not from my fathers," he says, "did I inherit poverty, nor am I a beggar by my ancestry."[3] "Away from Paros," he exclaims, "and its figs and seaside life."[4] The new dynasty which had ascended the throne of Lydia, in the person of King Gyges, had immediately turned its arms against the Greek cities. Miletus and Smyrna repelled the attacks of Gyges, but Magnesia on the Mæander and Colophon were forced to submit. A portion of the Colophonians preferred emigration to a state of subjection to the Lydians. They sailed westward, and, on the shore of the deep bay, which

[1] *Fragm.* 120, 77, 151 Bergk.

[2] *Schol.* Aristoph. *Aves*, 1764, *Fragm.* 119. Eratosthenes interpreted this verse as a hymn to Heracles; *Schol.* Pind. *Olymp.* 9, 3.

[3] Ael. *V. H.* 10, 13; Pind. *Pyth.* 2, 54; Archil. *Fragm.* 2 Bergk.

[4] *Fragm.* 53.

divides the southern coast of Italy, where the Achæans had built Croton and Sybaris, and the Parthenians Taras (*supra*, p. 87), at the mouth of the river Siris, they founded a city of the same name (about 680 B.C.). Archilochus must have joined these emigrants.[1] He speaks from his own observation of the "lovely, pleasant, and desirable land by the waves of the Siris." His sojourn there, however, cannot have been very long. We afterwards find him with the settlers in Thasos, in the young colony founded by his father, the new city on the north coast of the island. But Thasos did not please him. "Like the back-bone of an ass it stands, bristling with wild wood!"[2] he cries.

[1] Athen. p. 523. The date of Archilochus is fixed by the statement of Herodotus (Herod. 1, 12), that he lived in the time of Gyges and commemorated him in a trimeter, especially as this trimeter has been preserved. The reign of Gyges lasted, according to Eusebius, from 689 B.C. to 653 B.C.; the reason why these years must be substituted for those assigned to Gyges by Herodotus has been shown in the *Hist. Ant.* 3, 414, n. 2. Archilochus therefore lived in the first half of the seventh century. This entirely agrees with the colonisation of Thasos in *Olymp.* 18 (*supra*, p. 173, n. 2). That Archilochus led the colonists to Thasos, as we read in Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* 6, 7, is as false a story as the announcement made to Telesicles regarding his son. Had Archilochus been Œkist of Thasos, his verses from thence would have been in a different tone, and we should have heard more of his honours in that island, for in other respects abundant notices of the fame of Archilochus have been preserved. But, in truth, we see from his own words, that he was at Siris before he resided in Thasos. Tatian (*Ad. Græc.* p. 49, and ap. Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* 10, 11) determines the date of Archilochus quite accurately when he says: ὁ δὲ Ἀρχίλοχος ἤκμασε περὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα τρίτην καὶ εἰκοστὴν (688-685 B.C.) κατὰ Γύγην τὸν Λυδόν; and according to this we must correct the statement of Eusebius: an. Abrah. 915: *alii demum ut Archilochus;* into *alii demum cum Archilocho circa vicesimam tertiam Olympiaden*, and the still greater error of Jerome. On the other hand the notice of the chronicle: an. Abrah. 1351 = *Olymp.* 28, 4 or 665 B.C.; and the corresponding notice of Jerome and Syncellus can be the less taken into account, since they belong to a scheme which made Archilochus and Simonides contemporaries; and Clemens (*Strom.* 1, p. 398 P.) very pertinently remarks that, as Thasos was colonised in the eighteenth Olympiad, it is clear that Archilochus had already become known after the twentieth Olympiad (*i.e.* after 700 B.C.).

[2] *Fragm.* 21.

Either in the island itself, or on the Thracian coast opposite, where in the "mine forest," there were richer gold mines than in Thasos, the emigrants had to sustain conflicts with the Thracian tribe of the Saians. "I am at once," says Archilochus, "a servant of Lord Enyalius, and enjoy the fair gift of the Muses."[1] "With the spear my bread is kneaded, by the spear I get Ismarian wine, I drink it leaning on the spear."[2] The red wine produced on the Thracian coast, on the shores of the river Ismarus which falls into the sea to the east of Thasos, was considered a divine drink[3] even in the period of the ancient Odyssey. When it is poured out, Archilochus exclaims to the drawer, "Up, go with the chalice among the benches of the swift ship, take the covers from the bulging casks; and draw off the red wine from the lees; we cannot keep this watch fasting."[4] "I like not," we read in another fragment, "a lanky chief with slouching mien, disorderly hair, and unshorn beard; a small man with bandy legs, who stands firmly on his feet, and is full of courage, pleases me better."[5] The result of an encounter in which he himself took part, he contemptuously describes as follows: "There were seven dead men trodden underfoot, and we were a thousand murderers."[6] In a battle with the Saians he lost his shield in flight. He thus consoles himself for its loss. "Some Saian now, doubtless, glories over my blameless shield which against my will I lost in the thicket. I myself escaped the fate of death. Away then with that shield, I shall get another as good![7]

[1] *Fragm.* 1. [2] *Fragm.* 2.

[3] Ismarus, with its red wine, belongs, in the *Odyssey*, to the Cicones (9, 40 ff, 198 ff). [4] *Fragm.* 4.

[5] *Fragm.* 58. [6] *Fragm.* 59. [7] *Fragm.* 6; Strabo, p. 549.

The Parian colonists had no easy task in Thasos, they were beset with grave misfortunes, as may be gathered from the fragments of Archilochus. We also learn from another source that the Thracians of the coast were not the only foes with whom they had to contend, for when they took possession of Stryme, the inhabitants of Maronea on the Ismarus, who were colonists from Chios, opposed them.[1] Archilochus admonishes his countrymen in Thasos to show patience and constancy under their misfortunes. "We sigh under heavy troubles, Pericles," so runs one of the fragments; "neither the city nor any of its inhabitants think of pleasure, for the waves of the howling sea have engulfed the best men: our breast is swollen with grief. But, dear friend, the gods have devised a cure for incurable evil—strong steadfastness of heart. Now this trouble has fallen upon us, and we deplore the bloody battle; soon it will fall upon others. Therefore endure it, and throw quickly from you womanish grief.[2] We must confide all to the gods; they often exalt the men who lie upon the black earth, and often cast down with a sudden destruction those who move with firm and haughty steps. Much evil happens in spite of foresight and against the will of man.[3] I am neither healed through tears, nor do I make evil worse if I give myself to joy and pleasure."[4] His sister's husband had been lost in the waves: "the pain would have been easier to bear," says Archilochus, "if the flame of Hephæstus had buried his head and his fair limbs in pure vestments."[5] To the Thasians who

[1] Harpocrat. Στρύμη, after Philochorus, who, on his side, appeals to the evidence of Archilochus, and Scymn. Ch. 6, 7; Herod. 7, 108.

[2] *Fragm.* 9. [3] *Fragm.* 56. [4] *Fragm.* 13.

[5] Plut. *de Poet.* 6.

must have been in great distress, he exclaims, "Ye houseless citizens, consider at last my words." He tries to prove to them that he desires nothing, and seeks nothing for himself, while he puts these words into the mouth of a simple, unambitious man: "The golden treasures of Gyges are not what I crave in my heart, nor has ambition possessed me, nor do I envy the works of the gods, nor strive after tyrannical power, —all this is far from my eyes."[1] At last, however, even the equanimity of Archilochus was unable to maintain itself under the misfortunes which beset the new colony. He has to exhort himself to courage and presence of mind. "Heart, my heart," he cries, "shaken with stormy cares, be calm! Oppose thy very breast for a protection against the enemy, push on closely and bravely to keep him back! Rejoice not too loudly over a victory, nor weep at home under a defeat: rejoice not immoderately in prosperity, nor grieve in adversity overmuch: confess that there is a tide in the affairs of men."[2] He confesses that neither Iambics nor any other pastime are dear to his heart.[3] "It is not the disaster of the Magnetes (their severe defeat by the Cimmerians, and subjugation by the Lydians), but the woes of Thasos, that I deplore!"[4] "The sorrows of the Panhellenes stream together in Thasos."[5] "May the stone of Tantalus not hang over this island."[6] "O Thasos, thrice unhappy city!"[7]

As far as we can discover, Archilochus left Thasos and returned to Paros. "We know on his own autho-

[1] *Fragm.* 25. That this fragment refers to Thasos follows from Plut. *de tranquill.* 10; Aristot. *Rhet.* 3, 17, 16 = 1418 *b*.

[2] *Fragm.* 66. [3] *Fragm.* 22. [4] *Fragm.* 20.

[5] *Fragm.* 52. [6] *Fragm.* 53. [7] *Fragm.* 129.

rity," says Critias, "that he was hated by the Thasians, because he persecuted friend and foe with his satire." In Paros—whether before his wanderings and adventures, or only at this time, is uncertain—he conceived a violent passion for Neobule, a maiden of the island, daughter of Lycambes. "O friend," he exclaims, "there possesses me the yearning which paralyses the limbs; spiritless I lie, devoured by longing, and pierced by bitter pains to the very bone."[1] "Such love has enclosed my heart, that darkness veils my eyes; she has stolen all the courage out of my breast!"[2] "Might I only succeed in touching Neobule's hand!"[3] "She has the luxuriant growth of the myrtle, the fair bloom of the rose, her hair overshadows her neck and shoulders."[4] Lycambes at first promised his daughter to Archilochus, but afterwards changed his mind, preferring a more wealthy son-in-law. Archilochus took his revenge. He persecuted Lycambes and his house with the most ferocious libels. "I understand very well," he says, "how to repay the man who has done me evil, with worse evils."[5] "The fox knows much, the hedgehog only one thing (how to draw itself together and to prick)."[6] "O Zeus, O father Zeus, thou rulest in heaven, thou seest also the deeds of men, the wicked and the just; even the arrogance and right doing of the beasts, thou hast at heart![7] Father Lycambes, how shall I call this? who led thy heart astray? Thou hadst sworn a great oath unto me, and given me bread and salt (signs of reception into the house)![8] But there is nothing now that may not happen, be it

[1] Ælian, *V. H.* 10, 13; *Fragm.* 85, 84.
[2] *Fragm.* 103. [3] *Fragm.* 71.
[4] *Fragm.* 29. [The Greek text may also be translated: "In delight she held a spray of myrtle and a rosebud," etc.]
[5] *Fragm.* 65. [6] *Fragm.* 118. [7] *Fragm.* 88. [8] *Fragm.* 94, 96.

never so unlooked for and abjured, be it never so strange, since Zeus the father of the Olympians in broad day had hidden in darkness the bright light of the sun, and pale fear came upon men. Since then marvellous things have happened upon the earth. No one need wonder henceforth, though the dolphins should leave their abode in the dashing waves of the sea, and prefer the land and the lofty mountains."[1] Then he declares to Lycambes the coming vengeance. "There is a tale among men about the fox and the eagle who once made a treaty and sealed it with an oath."[2] Archilochus reminds Lycambes of the tenor of this fable. . The eagle devoured the fox's young; the fox could not reach him, but he invokes the punishment of the gods upon the eagle; and when the birds stole flesh from the sacrificial altar, he carried sparks into his nest, which was burned with the eaglets: so also vengeance will overtake Lycambes. Archilochus succeeded in making Lycambes the sport of the island: at any rate he proudly says in a remaining fragment of his writings: "Now Lycambes, thou art become a great laughing-stock to the citizens."[3] The bitter, passionate, and sometimes cynical invectives of Archilochus, of which the few and mutilated fragments that have been preserved only give us indications,[4] are said to have driven Lycambes and his daughter to desperation. We are told that they both hanged themselves. Greek tradition was always fond of painting the effects of poetry in strong colours.

Lycambes, however, was not the only person whom Archilochus persecuted with his verses; he

[1] *Fragm.* 74. [2] *Fragm.* 86. [3] *Fragm.* 94.

[4] Cf. *Fragm.* 34. The coarseness of these invectives is seen in *Fragm.* 135-137, 184.

spared neither himself nor others. The dead alone were to have no evil said of them.[1] "As the fig-tree on the cliffs supports many crows," says one fragment, "so Pasiphile gives a friendly reception to all guests."[2] "Thy skin will never bloom again," he exclaims to another, "but thou wilt still anoint thyself, even when thou art an aged crone!"[3] "Sing of Glaucus," we read in another fragment, "with the frizzled hair!"[4] To a person who forced his way into a common banquet he says: "To drink much unmixed wine, and to eat much to which thou didst not contribute a morsel, thou camest unbidden as if thou hadst been a friend. Thy belly betrays thy heart and senses into shamelessness."[5]

Of the further history of Archilochus we only know that he fell in an encounter of the Parians against the Naxians (about the year 660 B.C.) by the hand of Calondas of Naxos. Long afterwards, when Calondas came to Delphi to inquire of the oracle, the Pythia is said to have called out to him in the name of the god. "Thou hast slain the servant of the Muses! depart from the temple!" Calondas replied: "I am pure, O king; I slew according to the laws of war, and did nothing more than I was ready also to undergo." The Pythia commanded him, so runs the legend, to propitiate the soul of Archilochus.[6]

The fame of Archilochus lived on among the Greeks. He had boldly introduced poetry into the circle of everyday life, the moods and struggles of which he seized with wonderful vividness. Iambic

[1] *Fragm.* 64. [2] *Fragm.* 19. [3] *Fragm.* 100, 31.
[4] *Fragm.* 57. [5] *Fragm.* 70.
[6] Heracl. Pont. 8; Plut. *De ser. num. vind.* 17; Aristid. 2, 380, Dindorf. Suidas, Ἀρχίλοχος; Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* 5, 33.

poetry owes to him its birth. "Thou plunderest Archilochus!" became a proverb among the Greeks, as addressed to a satirist.[1] The resources of his mind, the many forms of poetry which he used with equal freedom, the drastic force of his expressions, the bitterness of his mockery, the passionate ardour of soul, to which he first dared to give unveiled and uncompromising expression, have caused the Greeks (and so far as we can gather from the remains of his works, with justice) to reckon him at all times among their greatest poets. His place is next to Homer.

Severe as were the misfortunes of Thasos while Archilochus remained and fought there, and even afterwards, the new colony overcame them. We find the Thasians in the sixth century B.C. in a flourishing condition. Besides the mines in their own island, they had obtained those in the "mine forest" on the opposite shore. On the Thracian coast they were in possession of Stryme, and had built Galepsus, Œsyme, and Datum, not far from the mouth of the Strymon.[2] These harbours enabled them to carry on their advantageous commerce with the Thracians, and to avail themselves of the wealth of the coast in wood for shipbuilding. Herodotus assures us, that the produce of the gold mines in Thasos and on the Thracian coast, together with other revenues, brought in so much that the Thasians found it unnecessary to levy any other taxes; after paying the expenses of the commonwealth, a yearly surplus of from two to three hundred talents (or £43,000-£63,000 sterling) remained.[3] Paros seems also to have enjoyed prosperity

[1] Suidas, *loc. cit.*

[2] Scymn. Ch. 656; Scyl. 67; Thucyd. 4, 107; Eustath. *ad Dion.* 517.

[3] Herod. 6, 46; 7, 108, 118; Bœckh, *Staatshaushalt.* 1, 423.

after this war with the Naxians, and to have attained to a wise form of constitution, which secured rights and participation in the government not only to the *gentes* and great territorial lords, but also to those possessing smaller landed properties.[1] The island maintained friendly relations with Miletus: Paros and Miletus had been associated together in the building of Parium on the Hellespont; and the community of Paros was afterwards entrusted by the Milesians with the settlement of their fierce party quarrels, and the rearrangement of their constitution. Andros, Tenos, and Ceos had been freed from their allegiance to Eretria, in consequence of the defeat of that city by Chalcis in the great war. Andros, like Paros, tried to gain a footing on the coasts of Thrace; and in 654 B.C. founded Acanthus and Stagirus on the neck of the promontory of Mount Athos, on the western shore of the bay into which the Strymon falls.[2]

[1] This is inferred from the institutions which the Parians founded at Miletus, *infra*, Book 4, chap. 17.

[2] Scymn. Ch. 647; Euseb. *Chron.* an. Abrah. 1362 = *Olymp.* 31, 3 = 654 B.C.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

CHAPTER X.

THE IONIANS IN ASIA.

"THE Ionians to whom the Panionium belongs," says Herodotus, "of all men known to us, have obtained the fairest skies and best climate for their cities: neither those lands higher up (to the north), nor those lower down (to the south), neither those in the East nor those in the West are so fortunate; the former being exposed to cold and damp, the latter to heat and drought."[1] On this favoured soil, the colonies of the Ionians, under their princes of the house of Neleus—both those who might actually have been descendants of Codrus, or emigrants from Pylus, and those who claimed descent from Codrus in order to obtain equal honour with the rest, and admittance to the sacrificial league on Mount Mycale—flourished and increased to a wonderful extent. As to the fortunes of these cities after the period of the first settlement, we can only discover that their struggles with the Carians and Lydians were long and severe, that there were feuds among the cities themselves, that Miletus and Myus, Chios and Erythræ made war on one another, and that the Colophonians succeeded in conquering Smyrna from the Æolians and making it an Ionian city. In regard to their internal organisation, we have seen that the nobility, as in Attica, their mother

[1] Hdt. 1, 142.

country, formed themselves into corporations; in Miletus and Teos the very names of the four Attic tribes were reproduced; in Ephesus and Erythræ, the colonists were likewise divided into tribes, but in a different order, and with other names, which reveal the original constituents of their population. The members of the tribal associations, descendants of the founders or of succeeding immigrants, their successors, who obtained admittance, were here, as in Attica, the ruling class of the new communities. The religious worship was that of the Hellenic gods, enriched by cults found among the ancient inhabitants in Miletus, Ephesus, and Colophon. The cities all worshipped Poseidon of Helice; with the exception of Ephesus and Colophon, they all, like the Athenians, celebrated the Apaturia to Zeus Phratrius and to Athena. Teos, Phocæa, and Smyrna celebrated the Anthesteria of Dionysus; the women of Miletus and Ephesus held the Thesmophoria of Demeter in the same manner as the women of Attica. Miletus worshipped Demeter of Eleusis (vol. i. p. 260), and the sacred olive tree was not wanting in the temple of Athena in that city.

Amidst the struggles carried on by the cities of the Ionians with the Carians and Lydians, and by the cities of the Achæans with the Mysians and Teucrians—amidst the convergence of tribes and legends from the various districts of the mother country which were here represented—at the courts of princes and in the families of the nobility around them, there grew up a number of songs describing the deeds and sufferings of the heroes of old—that is to say, a body of heroic poetry. As soon as the cities had secured a certain amount of territory, they proceeded to enlarge it, at the expense of the ancient populations.

In these conflicts also, the nobles were the leaders; they adopted the cavalry mode of warfare, while at the same time they practised themselves in navigation and headed maritime expeditions for plunder, commerce, or other objects. Miletus possessed a splendid harbour in the gulf; the heights of the peninsula which commanded it afforded fine pasturage for sheep, and in the plain were fertile arable lands. Ephesus extended its dominion on the Cayster as far as the spurs of Mount Tmolus, and the territory of Colophon stretched northwards to the mountain range which divides the valley of the Cayster from that of the Hermus.

Notwithstanding this prosperity of the cities, however, if not in consequence of it, the monarchy fell, as in the mother country, probably about the middle of the eighth century. In Phocæa alone, so far as we know, it was maintained until the middle of the seventh century. The security attained by the cities in regard to the ancient population may have caused a strict and uniform leadership to appear less necessary, while increasing possessions in land, wealth, and dependents may have aroused the self-reliance of the families and associations of the nobility in opposition to the princes. Aristotle tells us that the nobles in Magnesia and most of the Ionian colonies applied themselves to the training of horses and to equestrian warfare, while the government of the cities devolved upon the community of knights, who formed the ruling class.[1]

In Miletus the kingdom of the Nelids came to an end in the following manner: Laodamas and Amphitres, descendants of Phobius and Phrygius[2] disputed for the throne: it was assigned to whichever of them

[1] *Pol.* 4, 3, 2 = 1289 *b* 38 ff; cf. Heracl. Pont. 22 M.
[2] Vol. i. p. 262.

should earn for himself the highest reward from Miletus. Miletus was then at war with the island of Melos (Melos, as we have seen, had been colonised by the Achæans in the beginning of the eighth century, see vol. i. pp. 401, 419), and with the Dryopians of Carystus in Eubœa. Amphitres went out against Melos, and accomplished nothing; but Laodamas succeeded in defeating the Carystians, perhaps with the help of the Eretrians (*supra*, p. 165). He then became king of Miletus, ruled justly, and was beloved by the Milesians. But one day, as he was conducting the hecatomb at the festival of Apollo to the temple of Didyma (vol. i. p. 279), without the city, Amphitres fell upon him with his followers, and having slain him, took possession of the city and throne. The sons and adherents of Laodamas established themselves in Assessus, a town in the territory of Miletus. Here they were besieged by Amphitres and reduced to great extremities. An oracle which announced assistance to them from Phrygia was fulfilled; two youths from Phrygia effected an entrance into the city. The besieged came out to battle: terror sent from the deity seized upon the followers of Amphitres; they turned and fled, and, in the pursuit, the sons of Laodamas slew Amphitres. But the Milesians nominated Epimenes to arrange their constitution, and gave him full powers to punish all who had been concerned in the murder of Laodamas. The sons of Amphitres had fled, and Epimenes confiscated their property; of the remaining participators in the murder three were executed, and the rest banished. "Thus the dominion of the Nelids came to an end."[1] As to the arrangement which Epimenes intro-

[1] Conon. *Narr.* 44 = Photius, *Bibl.* 232 H; Nicol. Damasc. *Fragm.* 54 M.

duced into the aristocracy, the constitution which was substituted for the monarchy in Miletus, we know only that an elective prytanis, with extensive powers, was placed at the head of the state.[1]

In Ephesus also, the house of Androclus, son of Codrus, failed to maintain its power. The government of the city was transferred to the Gerousia—a council of elders chosen by the nobles according to their five tribes (vol. i. p. 264). The posterity of Androclus, however, retained the name and insignia of the kingly dignity, and the right of fulfilling sacred functions. They had the chief seats at competitive games, wore the purple robe, and a staff instead of the sceptre, and conducted the sacrifice of the Eleusinian Demeter. We learn further that one brother of this tribe could transfer these rights and dignities to another brother.[2] Similarly in Colophon the rule of the equestrian families was substituted for the government of the descendants of Andræmon. In Erythræ the association of nobles, which at first replaced the dominion of the descendants of Hippotes (vol. i. p. 267), received the name of "Basilidæ," *i.e.* the kingly; their position was something akin to that of the Bacchiadæ in Corinth, and that of the Melanthidæ in Athens, after the fall of the hereditary monarchy. Aristotle says of the Basilidæ of Erythræ that "they administered the commonwealth well in ancient times."[3]

Miletus early applied itself to navigation, and directed its expeditions northwards towards the Hellespont. As early as the year 800 B.C., the ships of Miletus must have sailed through the strait of Sestos

[1] Aristot. *Pol.* 5, 4, 5 = 1305 *a* 16, 17.

[2] Strabo, pp. 633, 640; Diogen. Laert. 9, 6.

[3] Aristot. *Pol.* 4, 3 = 1290 *b* 15; 5, 5, 4 = 1305 *b* 19; Polyæn. 7, 2, 2.

into the Propontis and Bosphorus; and even ventured into the Black Sea. Commerce on the southern shores of that sea must have proved so advantageous, or rather the metals which were to be obtained among the Chalybians, Tibarenians, and Moschi,—copper, silver, and iron, must have become so desirable and indispensable, that Miletus founded a commercial settlement there, westward of the mouth of the Halys, "in the domain of the Syrians," on a projecting promontory affording two good harbours, one towards the East, and the other towards the West. Under the leadership of Abron (or Ambron) some Milesian colonists about the year 780 B.C. here established a settlement out of which grew the city of Sinope.[1] The isthmus which connected the promontory with the mainland was but two stadia in width: this narrow space was afterwards spanned by the southern wall of the town. The colony flourished so rapidly, that in the year 756 B.C., not long after its own founding, it was in a position to establish a new station on the same coast, but much farther to the East. This station was Trapezus, and it enjoyed direct commercial intercourse with the land of the Chalybians, which was rich in metals.[2] At the same time the Milesians, probably with the design of securing a safe anchorage for their ships before they sailed into the Black Sea, took possession of a somewhat extensive, rounded peninsula in the Propontis which juts out into the sea on the Asiatic coast, and is only connected with the mainland by a very narrow isthmus: this peninsula the Greeks named the "isle of bears." Upon it, just where it joins the continent, on the narrow neck which was afterwards cut through, the Milesians

[1] *Hist. Ant.* 1, 545. [2] Polyb. 4, 56; Strabo, p. 545.

founded the city of Cyzicus.[1] The ancient inhabitants of the island of bears, who seem to have belonged to the Thracian tribe of the Doliones,[2] apparently found admission for some of their number among the ranks of the Milesian settlers. At any rate there existed in Cyzicus six tribes instead of the four Attic or Ionic tribes. Besides the Geleontes, Hoplites, Argadeis, and Ægicoreis, two other tribes, the Boreis and the Œnopes[3] are mentioned. The name of the Œnopes is derived from Œnopion, the wine-man (*supra*, p. 169); it no doubt signifies vine-dresser, and appropriately connects itself with the name of Argadeis, *i.e.* husbandmen, and Ægicoreis, or goat-herds: the territory of Cyzicus yields abundant wine, as well as field-produce. The name of Boreis is harder to explain. We have had mention of Borus, the son of Penthilus, but he can hardly belong to this connection; Borus, grandfather of Melanthus, king of Athens, would be more probable.[4] We have seen that the Ionians of Androclus, who founded Ephesus, admitted part of the ancient population as a separate tribe, side by side with their own tribes; and this may have happened at Cyzicus with the "vintagers;" yet the Œnopes, as well as the Boreis may have been composed of later immigrant Ionians or Greeks of other descent. About fifty years after the building of Cyzicus, towards the end of the eighth century (708 B.C.), the Milesians in concert with the Parians founded Parium on the Asiatic coast of the

[1] Strabo, pp. 635, 575; Jerome an. Abrah. 1261 = *Olymp.* 6, 2 = 756 B.C.

[2] Hecat. *Fragm.* 204 M; Strabo, *loc. cit.*

[3] *C.I.G.* No. 3665, with Bœckh's commentary.

[4] Vol. i. 242, note 2; Pausan. 2, 18, 7, 8. On what Schömann's assumption that Boreis = ploughmen rests, I do not see; we must then derive from βοῦς = βῶς, βῶρος = a yoker of oxen. [Schöm. *Gr. Ant.* 1, 129 E. T.]

Hellespont (*supra*, p. 169), in order to secure to themselves the entrance of the Propontis; and in this colony some emigrants from Erythræ bore a part.[1] Cyzicus continued to be the chief station for the commerce of Miletus in the Propontis and in the Pontus, and thus became an important and opulent city.

As the settlements of the Æolians on the coast of Asia, the occupation of the Cyclades and of the Carian and Lydian coasts had extended and given more life and form to the legends of Greece, so the opening up of the Black Sea, and the founding of the Milesian colonies on its shores produced similar results. The myth of the voyage of the Argo to the land of the Sun in the far East (vol. i. p. 156), accompanied the mariners of Miletus to the coast of the Black Sea; it was transferred from heaven to earth, and here localised. The course of the Argo had been towards the East; it must consequently have gone to the Black Sea. Ææa, the land of the Sun, of Æetes, was sought on the eastern shore of that sea, and the pledge of blessing, the golden fleece, was transformed into the wealth of that region. Now the Argo became "celebrated by all in song;" we have previously seen how the songs of the Argo, which now arose, influenced the extension of the *Odyssey*. Eumelus of Corinth, who composed his poems about the middle of the eighth century, already named Colchis as the goal of the Argo, and the Milesian colonies on the Propontis and the Black Sea boasted that the soil of which they had taken possession had been consecrated even in antiquity by the landing and deeds of the Argonauts. With the voyages of the Milesians through the Helles-

[1] Strabo, p. 588; Euseb. Arm. an. Abrah. 1308 = *Olymp.* 18 = 708 B.C. [In Armen. vers. Pathron, in Jerome, Parion.]

pont into the Eastern Sea, the legend was invented of the fall of the daughter of the clouds, of Helle, the bright one, from the back of the ram of the clouds into the sound. From her was derived the name of the Hellespont, which originally embracing the sound, the Propontis and the Black Sea, designated these waters as the Eastern Sea, the sea of light, and of the sunrise. The moving rocks, the cloud mountains sank down from heaven: the Planctæ became immovable, and kept their place on the dangerous opening from the Bosphorus into the Black Sea. The Trapezuntians showed near their city the grave of Apsyrtus, the son of Æetes; the inhabitants of Sinope, the anchorage of the Argo on their coast, and called Autolycus, an Argonaut, their first founder. The people of Cyzicus maintained that Jason had erected the temple of the Great Mother, which stood on the heights above their city; they had found the worship of this goddess among the native population when their colony was planted.[1] At the mouths of the Halys, the Iris, and the Thermodon, where, in the territory of the Syrians, numerous hierodules ministered to the Syrian war-goddess with dances in armour, the Milesians thought they had discovered the home of the Amazons. Heracles must, therefore, have come hither to loose the girdle of the queen of the Amazons, and Theseus and Peirithous must have fought there to carry off Antiope (vol. i. p. 281). On the northern shores of the Black Sea, the Milesian sailors found a much more severe winter than in their own home. Here, where the sea along the coast became solid ice, where constant and thick fogs enveloped land and water, where, on the flat peninsula of Taman, subterranean flames threw up hot

[1] Neanthes of Cyzicus, in Strabo, p. 45.

mud, the Milesians thought they had found the end of the world and the land of the wintry Cimmerians, "wretched beings veiled in fog, darkness, and night, and never enlightened by the sun," who, even in the ancient *Odyssey*, dwell in the farthest west, the western extremity of earth, in the land of the setting sun. When, beyond the Black Sea, a new expanse of water (the Sea of Azof) disclosed itself, the mariners thought they had at last reached the world-encircling Oceanus. The entrance into the Mæotis received the name of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. On the cliffs of the rocky Crimean coast the Taurians, no doubt a remnant of the Cimmerians (Gimirai, Gamir),[1] expelled by the Scoloti, sacrificed the shipwrecked or wandering strangers, who fell into their hands, to a maiden goddess. The Greeks, who had already recognised their Artemis in the war goddess of Lydia, and the goddess of the region about the Halys, believed that they had also discovered her in the goddess worshipped by the Taurians with human sacrifices. To Tauris, where "maidens, for whom the marriage torch never shone," superintended the worship of the maiden goddess,[2] Artemis, it was said, transported Iphigenia; thence Orestes brought back his sister, together with the image of the goddess, which on his return he placed in his kingdom, in the temple of Orthia in the marshes at Sparta, or, as the Athenians maintained, at Brauron on the east coast of Attica.[3] The legend of the carrying off of Iphigenia to Tauris is found in the *Eoæ* and *Cypria*;[4] it is current in the lyrics of the sixth century. On the western shores of the Black Sea lay, not far from

[1] *Hist. Ant.* i. 541; iii. 275. [2] Ovid, *Epist.* 3, 2, 55-58, 78.
[3] Diodor. 4, 44, 45; Pausan. 1, 33, 1; 3, 16, 7. [4] *Infra*, chap. 14.

the mouths of the Danube, an island, the white limestone cliffs of which shone from afar. The Greeks called it the "white" island (Leuke), and thought that the sea nymphs had placed Achilles on these misty shores, that his divine mother might once more rejoice over her impetuous son.[1] On the shore of the continent to the north-east of Leuke, on the wave-beaten flats of sand, they believed they had discovered the race-course where the swift hero delighted himself with heroic games. These are the long and narrow strips of dunes, stretching for some distance through the sea southwards, opposite the promontory of Kinburn. Arctinus of Miletus in the middle of the eighth century first sung of the carrying away of Achilles to the island of Leuke,[2] after the arrow of Paris had struck him. The Greek sailors of later times here dedicated inscriptions to Achilles, in gratitude to the hero for saving them from the dangers of the Black Sea.[3]

It was after the middle of the eighth century that the Cimmerians, driven by the Scoloti from their abodes on the northern shore of the Pontus Euxinus, took possession of the coast regions near the mouth of the Halys, and here destroyed Sinope, the colony of Miletus. Fifty years later, they broke forth from the Halys towards the west of Asia Minor, overran Phrygia, whose king died by his own hand (695 B.C.), and then Lydia, where Candaules (706-689 B.C.) was king, and took Sardis, his capital. The military prowess of the knightly aristocracy which had risen to power in the Greek cities was severely tested. The warriors of Magnesia on the Mæander, descendants of the Thessalian Magnetes, whose city was the farthest

[1] *Schol.* Apoll. Rhod. 2, 658; Neumann, *Hellenen im Scythenlande*, p. 367. [2] *Infra*, chap. 14. [3] Herod. 4, 55; Neumann, *loc. cit.*

settlement of the Greeks in the interior of Asia Minor, notwithstanding their practice and experience in cavalry warfare, sustained a terrible defeat.

Ephesus had everything to fear. Callinus of that city prayed to Zeus "to remember the fair thighs of bulls which Ephesus had burned to him, and to have compassion on her." He cried to his fellow-countrymen: "The army of the Cimmerians is near, who are mighty in their deeds;" "How long will ye sit still? When will strong courage come to you, O young men? Are ye not ashamed before your neighbours to lie supinely as if ye abode in peace, when war has seized upon the whole world?" "Glorious and honourable it is for a man to fight against the enemy for his country, his children, and his young wife. Death will come when the Mœræ have spun the thread. Go straightway forth, the spear uplifted, and the brave heart pressed against the shield, as soon as the tumult of battle begins." "In death let the falling soldier yet throw his spear." "For none is it decreed that he should escape from Fate, not even for him who is descended from immortal ancestors. He who escapes from war and from the rushing of the spears, is overtaken by Death in his house. But the one is not loved and longed for by the people, the other is bewailed by great and small when he dies: the whole nation laments for the death of the strong-hearted man, and in his life he is esteemed as a demi-god; for he who alone achieves the deeds of many stands like a tower before their eyes."[1]

Whether the admonitions of Callinus had any effect, whether the valour of the Ephesians was put to the proof, or the storm of the Cimmerians swept past

[1] Strabo, pp. 627, 633; Callin. *Fragm.* 1 Bergk[2].

them, we do not know; but it is evident that the incursion must have extended over the whole coast from the lower course of the Mæander to the Gulf of Adramyttium, for on the northern shore of that gulf a portion of the Cimmerians settled, while the remainder returned to Phrygia and the Halys. Magnesia appears to have been repopulated by Ephesians and Milesians.[1]

Even more dangerous to the Greek cities than this invasion were the changes that occurred among their neighbours the Lydians, as the result of it. King Candaules, who had just given a large sum to Bularchus, a Greek painter, for a picture representing the battle with the Magnesians and their defeat, was dethroned by Gyges, one of the ancient Lydian nobility. After a civil war in which some of the Lydians fought for Gyges, and some for the ancient royal house, Gyges, who was supported by the Carians and by the Delphic oracle, gained the victory.[2] With him a powerful and warlike family ascended the throne of Lydia, and turned its forces against the Greek cities which lay before the gates of Sardis, and barred the Lydians from the sea.

Against Miletus the attacks of Gyges proved fruitless. Smyrna lay nearest to Sardis, the chief city of Lydia; Gyges defeated the Smyrnæans before their own gates, and the Lydians pressed with the fugitives back into the city; but the obstinate bravery of the Smyrnæans succeeded in driving them out. Colophon, the mother city of Smyrna, was less fortunate, its knights fought in vain in its defence against Gyges, as did the inhabitants of Magnesia on the Mæander. Colophon was taken, and after repeated incursions of the Lydians into the territories of the Magnesians, Magnesia also

[1] Strabo, p. 647; Athenæus, p. 524. [2] *Hist. Ant.* vol. iii. p. 418 ff.

fell (about 680 B.C.). This city could not yet have recovered from the severe defeat it had suffered from the Cimmerians.[1] Renewed invasions of the Cimmerians from the Halys interrupted the attacks of Gyges upon the Greek cities; he is said to have met his death in battle against them, and Colophon and Magnesia regained their independence. Ardys (653-617 B.C.), the successor of Gyges, was also harassed by the Cimmerians throughout the first two decades of his reign, and subsequently, about the year 630 B.C., they succeeded under the leadership of Lygdamis in taking Sardis for the second time, though the Lydians still held the citadel. Again the Cimmerians advanced to the coast, and Ephesus was in imminent danger; the temple of Artemis, without the walls, the great sanctuary of the city, is said to have been burnt down by the invaders. The territories of the other Greek cities were likewise laid waste by them. "It was a mere plundering raid," says Herodotus, "not a conquest of the cities."[2]

In spite of the unfavourable turn which things had taken for the Greek cities soon after the commencement of the seventh century, through the settlement of the Cimmerians on the Halys and the rise of Lydia,—in spite of the invasions of the Cimmerians and the attacks of the Lydians, their navigation and commerce continued to advance, and what they lost on the continent of Asia Minor, in consequence of these changes, was made up to them in the west by the opening of a rich commercial region. During the reign of Gyges, Miletus strengthened its position on the Hellespont and in the Propontis by the founding of Abydus and

[1] Nicol. Dam. *Fragm.* 62. The "cavalry engagement" points to Magnesia on the Mæander.

[2] Herod. 1, 6.

Priapus, and the colonisation of the island of Proconnesus, to the north of Cyzicus, in the third decade of the seventh century. The inhabitants of Cyzicus also had a share in the colony at Priapus.[1] It was apparently the fortresses of the Megarians, on the northern shore of the Propontis and in the Bosphorus,[2] to which the new colonies of Miletus on these waters were intended to form a counterpoise. Still more important was the opening up of the Nile valley to the ships of the Greeks, in the latter part of Gyges' reign (about the year 655 B.C.). Psammetichus of Saïs, one of the vassal princes, to whom Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, kings of Assyria, had given over the government of Egypt when they had conquered the country, undertook to re-establish the independence of the Egyptians, with the help of the mariners of the Anatolian coasts, before whom he held out tempting advantages in the way of commerce. Miletus sent a considerable contingent, consisting of thirty ships, which, steering up the Bolbinitic arm of the Nile, conquered one of the enemies of Psammetichus in a naval battle near Saïs. At the mouth of this arm of the Nile the Milesians built a fortress, which seems to have also served them as a commercial station. Farther up the country Psammetichus gave them a site for another such station on the Canopic arm of the Nile. From this colony of Milesians and of other Greeks, who were settled with them, there grew up the city of Naucratis.[3] Psammetichus maintained the dominion which he had won by the help of the Ionians and of Lydian and Carian warriors, with the continued assistance of Ionian and Carian troops. Among the mercenaries of Greek

[1] Strabo, pp. 587, 590; ἐπιτρέψαντος Γύγου τοῦ Λυδῶν βασιλέως. Thucyd. 8, 61. [2] *Supra*, p. 52. [3] Strabo, p. 801.

origin, who served in Nubia under his grandson Psammetichus II., we find men from the Ionian city of Teos and the Doric city of Ialysus in Rhodes.[1]

However productive the commercial domain which was now open to the Ionians on the Nile, however great the advantages which the new trade promised, however multifarious the incitements offered to the Greeks by this opening of the land of primeval civilisation, their commerce not only did not abandon old haunts and maritime connections, but even sought fresh outlets beyond the Nile towards the west. With the Greek cities of Lower Italy, especially Sybaris, Miletus carried on an active trade.[2] Milesian fabrics must have been in great favour with the Greek cities of this coast about the middle of the seventh century, if it be true that Zaleucus forbade the Locrians to wear Milesian garments. The ships of Samos and Phocæa sailed beyond the mouths of the Nile, and beyond Sicily into the western basin of the Mediterranean Sea.

At the same period that Miletus was sending ships up the Nile to assist Psammetichus in obtaining the dominion of Egypt, it was also planting its first colony on the northern shores of the Black Sea. In the year 656 B.C. the town of Ister, called from the river, and situated to the south of the mouths of the Danube, was built and placed under an aristocratic form of government.[3] Twelve years later Miletus made a settlement among the Scythians on the northern shore of the Pontus itself. At the mouth of the Bug, on the

[1] *Hist. Ant.* iii. 399.

[2] *Supra*, p. 86.

[3] Euseb. Arm. an. Abrah. 1360 (Jerome an. Abrah. 1361) = *Olymp.* 31, 1, or 656 B.C. In Scymn. Ch. 769 *sqq.* we find that Ister was built when the Scythians, in pursuit of the Cimmerians, came to Asia, *i.e.* in 633 B.C., according to the calculations of Herodotus. Concerning the constitution of Ister, *vide* Aristot. *Pol.* 5, 5, 2 = 1305 *b* 5.

Liman, into which the Dnieper (Borysthenes) also flows, there arose the Milesian colony of Olbia, subsequently called from the larger river Borysthenes (644 B.C.).[1] "The Milesians," says Ephorus, "conquered the Scythians, and surrounded the Pontus with splendid cities."[2] Not long afterwards Sinope, on the south coast, the oldest colony of Miletus in the Black Sea, was restored. Having been destroyed by the Cimmerians, it was rebuilt in 629 B.C. by the Milesians, under the leadership of Cous and Cretines.[3]

We have already seen how close was the connection maintained by the Ionians of Asia with their fellow-tribesmen on the other side of the sea. It was through Chalcis and Eretria that this trade was chiefly carried on, and by it these cities had, in the first instance, risen to importance. It was among the Lydians and Ionians that they had found the coinage and standard system of weights which they had adopted and brought into use. Miletus was especially connected with Eretria. When, in the year 650 B.C., open war broke out between that city and Chalcis, the Milesians sent the Eretrians substantial help, while Samos declared for the Chalcidians.[4] Chalcis was victorious; but the Eretrians were so far from forgetting the aid which they had received from Miletus, that they made a substantial return for it a hundred and fifty years later. Miletus was therefore simultaneously engaged with colonies, warlike operations, and the advancement of

[1] Jerome an. Abrah. 1372 = *Olymp.* 34, 1, or 644 B.C.; Scymn. Ch. 809, "At the period of the supremacy of the Medes."

[2] Athenæus, p. 524.

[3] Jerome an. Abrah. 1387 = *Olymp.* 37, 4 = 629 B.C. In Eusebius an. Abrah. 1387, we find *Sidon condita est* miswritten for *Sinope condita est.* [In the Greek text *Sinope*, Arm. version *Sidon.*]

[4] *Supra*, p. 165; Herodot. 5, 99; Thucyd. 1, 15.

her interests at the mouth of the Danube, on the northern shore of the Black Sea, at the mouths of the Nile, and on the coast of Eubœa.

As Miletus, the most southern city of the Ionians, early turned her attention to navigation, so did the most northern of them, Phocæa, likewise betake herself to the sea. Phocæa, as we have seen, was founded by Phocians and Athenians, under the leadership of Philogenes and Damon of Attica, and Athena became the tutelary deity of the city. When the other cities refused to admit Phocæa into the sacrificial community of Mycale, as it was not ruled by kings of the race of Neleus, the Phocæans sent to Teos, where the posterity of Nauclus, son of Codrus, reigned, and to Erythræ, where the throne was occupied by the descendants of Codrus' son, Hippotes, and brought away members of the royal families of Teos and Erythræ to be at their head.[1] Concerning the fortunes of Phocæa, we have only the most meagre traditions. The small extent of their territory, we read in a fragment of Trogus in Justin, obliged the Phocæans to take to the sea: "They maintained themselves by fishing and commerce, but most of all by piracy, which was then considered honourable."[2] How zealously and at how early a period they must have practised not only piracy, but also legitimate commerce—even if piratical expeditions may still have continued in vogue—is shown by the tradition of the Hellenes, which attributed to the Phocæans the most ancient coinage of money; for the earliest Hellenic coins (before those of Phidon of Argos, and Agamemnon of Cyme)[3] were the gold staters of Phocæa. Phocæa lay near enough to the mouth of the Hermus and to the territory of the

[1] Vol. i. p. 273. [2] Justin, 43, 4. [3] Vol. i. p. 238.

Lydians to trade with them at an early period, and to become acquainted with the Babylonian weights and measures, which the Lydians used, and with their ancient but still rude coinage (or rather coin stamping, *i.e.* the stamping of metal after it had been weighed).[1] The oldest gold staters of Phocæa, which have been preserved, have an average weight of 16·80 grammes; they are stamped on one side, and bear the figure of a seal. Three thousand staters of this weight make a talent of gold, which is equal to the heavy Babylonian talent of 101½ lbs.[2] The value of the gold stater of Phocæa is about 17 thalers of German money, or 51 shillings. In order to facilitate the exchange of gold and silver, the silver coinage in Syria was so regulated that 15 silver staters were equal to 1 stater of gold. The value of gold as compared with silver at that time was as 13⅓ to 1; the weight of the stater of 16·80 grammes in gold had therefore to be counterbalanced by thirteen times and one-third of its weight in silver, *i.e.* 224 silver grammes.

If we place the gold coinage of Phocæa in the first half of the eighth century, we find that her ships were in the Adriatic Sea not long after the middle of that century. Herodotus tells us that the Phocæans were the first among the Hellenes who undertook distant voyages; they discovered the Adriatic and Tyrrhenia, Iberia and Tartessus, and made a friendly alliance with the king of Tartessus (*i.e.* with the ruler who held sway at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, or in its neighbourhood). They made these voyages, not in round-bottomed ships of burden, but in long fifty-oared vessels;[3] that is, in the ancient war ships of the Hellenes.

[1] Lenormant, *Monnayes Royales de la Lydie*, pp. 18, 19.
[2] *Hist. Ant.* i. 305.
[3] Herod. 1, 163; *supra*, p. 45.

Thus, while the Milesians chiefly directed their maritime expeditions northwards to the straits and to the Black Sea, and for the most part kept to those regions, the Phocæans bent their course towards the west. They not only crossed the Ægean Sea, but ventured to double the promontory of Malea, the southern point of the Peloponnesus, of ill-repute among the Greeks; and steering northwards into the Ionian Sea, came to the islands colonised by the Ionians long before the period of the migrations, and even farther to the north than these. We have seen that the Eretrians were in the island of Corcyra before the Corinthians; and Corcyra was colonised by the Corinthians before the end of the eighth century (*supra*, p. 44). If the Phocæans were the discoverers of the Adriatic, their mariners must have visited Corcyra before those of the Eretrians and Corinthians, and have sailed beyond Corcyra to the north; they must afterwards have arrived at Atria, the Tyrrhenian harbour at the mouth of the Po, from which the Adriatic derives its name.[1] The Phocæans also circumnavigated Italy, and arrived at the land of the Tyrrhenians on the west coast, above the mouth of the Tiber. Arimnestus, king of the Tyrrhenians, is said to have been the first of the barbarians who dedicated an offering to Zeus at Olympia: this offering was his throne.[2] This offering can only have taken place in consequence of the intercourse of the Phocæans with the Tyrrhenian coasts, and in any case it must have occurred after the time when King Midas of Phrygia offered his throne at Delphi in the last third of the eighth century. It could not have been before the year 700 B.C., as the Ionians of Asia made

[1] Dionys. Hal. 7, 3. [2] Pausan. 5, 12, 5; Herod. 4, 33.

their first appearance at the Olympian sacrifice about that time. Whether we are to seek for King Arimnestus on the east coast of Italy, in the land of the Ombricans, and suppose him accordingly to have been king of Ariminum, or whether he was king of the Tyrrhenians on the west coast, is uncertain. The ships of the Phocæans penetrated still farther to the west. A ship of Samos was driven out of its course to Tartessus; the Phocæans immediately adopted this route and gained precedence of the Samians beyond the pillars of Heracles. They discovered at the same time, or had previously discovered, the east coast of Iberia; it is certain that they reached the mouths of the Rhone before the year 600 B.C.

Nor was the navigation and commerce of the Phocæans confined to the west. They participated to a considerable extent in the traffic with Egypt,[1] and on the Hellespont they made settlements about the middle of the seventh century. In the first half of that century, Phobus, a descendant of that branch of the royal families of Teos and Erythræ which the Phocæans had previously invited to the throne, was king in Phocæa. Before his accession he had made a friendly alliance from Parium on the Propontis (founded by Paros and Miletus in 708 B.C., see *supra*, p. 169) with Mandron, the head of a tribe of Bebryces, who occupied the coast lying to the south of Parium, and called by the Greeks Pityussenian, a name no doubt derived from the pine-woods of those shores. When Phobus had become king of Phocæa, Mandron was harassed by the attacks of his neighbours, and Phobus assisted him with ships. Mandron in return agreed to render up a portion of his territory, if Phobus wished to found a

[1] Herod. 2, 178.

colony there. Phobus sent Blepsus, his twin-brother, with Phocæan colonists. The Phocæans were victorious against the enemies of the Bebrycians, but their successes provoked the envy, and subsequently the fears of the latter. In the absence of Mandron they made preparations to slay the strangers by treachery. The daughter of Mandron, named Lampsace, tried to divert her countrymen from their purpose, but being unsuccessful, she revealed the plot to the Hellenes, and warned them to be upon their guard. The Phocæans then made a banquet and sacrifice, to which they invited the Bebryces, cut them down, and took possession of Pityusa, their town on the Hellespont. Mandron declined the proposition that he and Blepsus should henceforth reign there together; and sought and obtained that the wives and children of the Bebryces should be given up. But the Phocæans named their city after Lampsace, "gave her a splendid burial at her death, and sacrifice to her to this day." The founding of Lampsacus is assigned to 651 B.C.[1] Its advantageous position on the much frequented strait caused it to flourish notwithstanding its border conflicts with the Milesians of Parium.[2]

Of the Ionian commonwealths the only one that could compare with Miletus and Phocæa in power and importance was the island of Samos. Here, as we have seen (vol. i. p. 262), Androclus, the brother of Neleus, had first made a settlement in opposition to the Carians, the ancient inhabitants of the island, before he succeeded in founding Ephesus. Subsequently other Ionians, in two bands, the first headed

[1] Charon Lamps. *Fragm.* 6 M; Strabo, p. 589; Herod. 6, 37; Euseb. *Chron. Olymp.* 32, 2 = 651 B.C.

[2] Charon, *Fragm.* 10; Ephor. *Fragm.* 93 M.

by Tembrion, the second (Ionians from Epidaurus) by Procles (vol. i. p. 257) settled in Samos. On the south coast the colonists built a citadel on a steep height overlooking the sea (Astypalæa), and subsequently the town of Samos, called after the island, was built adjoining the citadel on the west. Androclus then claimed the island as his possession, attacked Leagoras, son of Procles, and drove him out. Leagoras withdrew with his followers to Anæa, on the coast of the mainland, on the northern declivity of Mount Mycale, lived there by plunder, and ten years afterwards reconquered Samos from the Ephesians. Of the kings who succeeded Leagoras in the island, we know only the names of Amphicrates and Demoteles. Amphicrates carried on a war against the island of Ægina, which was a dependency of Epidaurus and Argos; the Æginetans and Samians inflicted great injuries on each other during this war. The Ionians of Samos had once fled hither before the Dorians of Epidaurus, now they were again encountering their ancient opponents. In this conflict, which took place on the border of the eighth and seventh centuries, Samos seems first to have employed triremes.[1] King Demoteles was slain by the Geomori, *i.e.* the possessors of the soil, the nobility of the island. Thenceforth Samos was under the dominion of the Geomori.[2] In the great war between Chalcis and Eretria in the middle

[1] Herod. 3, 59; *supra*, p. 47. This war must have taken place before the time of Periander, who reduced Epidaurus to dependence. On the other hand, the fall of the monarchy in Samos cannot be assigned to a much later date than 700 B.C.

[2] King Ancæus of Samos, to whom Heraclides of Pontus (10) ascribes the proverb, "There's many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip," and who, according to Aristotle, was the cultivator of fields and vineyards (*Fragm.* 176 M.)—in Tzetzes' work (*Lycoph.* 488), the son of Poseidon and Astypalæa—belongs to the mythical period.

of the seventh century the Geomori espoused the cause of Chalcis, while Miletus took part with Eretria.

The navigation of Samos in the Ægean Sea must have early brought that island into connection with Corinth, where the Bacchiadæ then ruled. It was a Corinthian who built the new triremes for the Samians in the year 704 B.C., no doubt for use against the Æginetans. Samos produced oil in great abundance, and wine, though this was not of the best quality. Its trade was chiefly in pottery. The produce of the ground, commerce and traffic, made it a rich island. A Samian poet, Asius, son of Amphiptolemus, whose poems were composed in the first half of the seventh century,[1] not long after the triremes had appeared in Samos, describes the adornments of his countrymen when they went out to the temple of Hera, the tutelary goddess of the town and island, which was situated upon the seashore, twenty stadia from the city gates. "When they had arranged their hair," he says, "they went arrayed in beautiful garments to the holy precincts of Hera; their snow-white vestures fell down to the broad earth; their shining hair in golden chains waved in the wind, golden ornaments in the form of cicades were placed in their hair on the crown of their heads; cunningly worked bracelets encircled their arms, and therewith they bore the warrior's shield."[2] This was the golden dress of the men mentioned in the Homeric poems as in use among the Trojans, and in the "Catalogue of Ships" among the

[1] Asius is cited together with Eumelus, and is described by Athenæus as ὁ παλαιὸς ἐκεῖνος. As he uses the elegiac measure, he must be later than Callinus. He belongs, therefore, to the period between 700 and 650 B.C., and if not older than Archilochus, is, at any rate, his contemporary. Cf. the satirical verses of Asius in Athenæus, p. 125.

[2] Athenæus, p. 525.

Carians;[1] the Carian population was driven out of Samos by the Ionians (vol. i. p. 263). Duris, who wrote the history of the island (in the third century before Christ), observes that a proof of this custom of the Samians existed even in his time in the proverb: "To go to the temple with the hair dressed."

The wealth of Samos became even greater when Psammetichus opened Egypt to the Greeks; for wine and oil were desirable commodities in that country. It was their Egyptian commerce which, by a lucky chance, led the Samians much farther afield. Colæus, a shipmaster of Samos, was voyaging to the Nile. The wind drove him beyond Egypt to the small island of Platea on the Libyan coast. He again put to sea, and attempted to reach Egypt by steering to the east; but the ship was a second time seized by the east wind, which now became a violent storm, and, "by the guidance of the gods," as Herodotus says, it was driven the whole length of the Mediterranean Sea, and finally beyond the pillars of Heracles. Colæus landed on the coast of Tartessus (about 630 B.C.),[2] traded with his cargo, and gained sixty talents. Thus a new sea-route was pointed out to the Samians and the Greeks; and a commercial region opened, of which the Phœnicians had hitherto exclusively reaped the profits. From the tenth part of his gains Colæus dedicated in the temple of Hera a great bronze cauldron, adorned with the heads of griffins, and borne by three bronze colossi, which, though kneeling, were seven Greek cubits in height: no contemptible proof of the artistic skill to which Samos had attained in the second half of the seventh century.

[1] *Il.* 17, 52; 2, 872.

[2] The date is fixed by the contemporaneous founding of Cyrene.

Colophon also carried on navigation, as Strabo[1] tells us, in ancient times, but very soon, like its daughter city Smyrna, and Ephesus, the sister city of Miletus, it abandoned the sea to the Milesians, Phocæans, and Samians, and applied itself to the extension of its landed territory (*supra*, p. 186). The horse-breeders and knights of Colophon now ruled the city in the place of the descendants of Andræmon. The military power, says Aristotle, was in the hands of the cavalry: these formed the governing class. Such was the constitution when the city succumbed to the attack of Gyges, about the year 680 B.C. Those of the Colophonians, who would not submit to the supremacy of the Lydians, took ship and found a new home in the far west, in Lower Italy, between Sybaris and Taras. The emigrants founded at the mouth of the Siris a town of the same name; we have seen that Archilochus was among them.[2] When, after the fall of Gyges (653 B.C.), Colophon regained its independence, a change must have been introduced into the constitution. Aristotle tells us that at one time the greater part of the population of Colophon belonged to the ruling class. Subsequently the arrangement of the *gentes* was extended, the aristocracy was transformed into a timocracy, the privilege of birth gave place to right of possession, and the constitution was so changed that all who could render knightly service found admission into the ruling class. This is also known to have occurred in Cyme (*supra*, p. 102). We learn, moreover, that a Council of a Thousand chosen from the whole number of wealthy

[1] Strabo, p. 643.

[2] *Supra*, p. 175; Timæus, *Fragm.* 62; Strabo, p. 264. As the town of Siris had been already destroyed in 560 B.C. (Book 5, chap. 16), the Colophonians (Ionians) who fled before the Lydians can here only mean those who fled before Gyges.

citizens ruled the city. "It is not a democracy," says Aristotle, "where the wealthy bear rule, even if they are the majority, as was the case of old in Colophon, where, before the war with the Lydians (that is, before the time of Gyges or of Alyattes), the majority possessed much property."[1] The knights of Colophon, we are informed by Strabo, attained to such superiority that in hardly-contested wars they always gave the victory to the side for which they fought. Hence arose the proverb, used in cases where some matter had to be brought to a definite issue: "The Colophonian must settle it." With such arrangements and means of defence the city had to resist the second onslaught of the Cimmerians. Subsequently the Colophonians began to imitate the manners and luxury of the Lydians. We have more definite information that they adopted the Lydian measures in music. Polymnestus of Colophon, who, towards the end of the seventh century, went to instruct the Spartans in music, and filled the place that Terpander and Thaletas had occupied before him, introduced Lydian harmonies even into choric singing.[2]

[1] Aristot. *Pol.* 4, 3, 2, 8 = 1290 *b*.
[2] Pausan. 1, 14, 3; Plut. *De Mus.* 5, 8, 9, 29.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ARISTOCRATIC CONSTITUTION.

MONARCHY was on the decline from the middle of the eighth century both in the cantons of the Peninsula and in the communities on the coasts and islands of the Ægean Sea. Even before that period important restrictions had been placed upon it in Sparta, though for reasons certainly of a peculiar kind. In Attica, Corinth, and Thebes the monarchy fell at the time we have named, but the privilege of exercising the highest functions was reserved in Attica for the ancient royal family, and in Corinth for the tribal association of the royal house. In the other commonwealths likewise, in which the monarchy had succumbed to the nobility, there remained to the ancient princely house either the privilege of election to the highest office, as in Thessaly and Erythræ, or at any rate an eminent position, as was the case with the Opheltiadæ at Thebes (*supra*, p. 13), together with sacred rights and dignities, the representation of the state at sacrifices offered on behalf of the commonwealth, and the offering and conduct of such sacrifices. The actual authority was transferred to the *gentes*, to the nobility, both in those states which had been conquered at the period of the migration, and those in which the ancient population maintained itself; alike in such as had been spared by the storms

of the migrations, and such as had newly arisen in the islands and on the other side of the sea.

The victory of the nobles over the monarchy produced among the Greeks the earliest forms of political constitutions. The nobility was forced to organise itself in order to rule the state collectively; it was divided into tribes and *gentes;* where such an organism had already existed under the rule of the monarchy, it was now made more regular and effective, in order to ensure to the entire body of nobles an equal share in the government. The noble families of Attica dated from the time when the communities of the Cecropidæ, of Eleusis, Marathon, and the country in the south (vol. i. p. 117) had become united; the Ionian cities of Asia had adopted similar corporations of *gentes*, bearing the same names, either simply or with modifications and extensions; the Dorian tribes had grown up during their migrations. The Dorians on the north-east coast of the Peloponnesus, like the colonies of the Ionians, retained this organisation with some alterations, necessitated by the presence of new constituents in the population. Philolaus of Corinth seems to have taken the gentile associations as the basis of the institutions which he set up at Thebes in the last quarter of the eighth century (*supra*, p. 36).

The monarchy had formerly allowed to the nobility only the right of giving counsel, and to members of their body the exercise of judicial functions: the final decision had always remained with the prince. When therefore the princes found themselves obliged to court the goodwill of the nobles, and to gain them over by clever speeches, the result of their waning authority was the rise of the nobles, and

the transference of dominion to the latter. If the prince had once been the state, the commonwealth had now passed into the keeping of the nobles, and the nobility became the state. The commonwealth was confided to the care and direction of a corporation: its action, its preservation, its advancement became the product of a common activity, not indeed of the whole population of the canton, but of a qualified and privileged portion of it. Yet a commonwealth was thus attained which governed itself through a part of its members, conferred rights and imposed duties. It was the ancient tribes, the "well-born" (Eupatridæ), the warlike families, the knights (Hippeis), the "horse-breeders" (Hippobotæ), "the owners of land" (Geomori), who possessed land and people, arms and horses, who were acquainted with the ancient hymns, the ancient customs in regard to sacrifices and the customary justice,—these were now the rulers of the cantons and cities. The Greek nobility based their claim to dominion on that in which they were superior to the rest of the people. Noble descent, wealth, and education are, according to Aristotle, the three foundations of aristocracy. So far as we are acquainted with the action of the aristocratic constitutions, the Greek nobility looked upon their pre-eminence in rights as balanced by pre-eminence in services to the state, and seriously undertook the duties which devolved on them with their succession to the government, and the rights which henceforth belonged to their body. The dominion which they had taken into their hands they regarded as a right common to all their members — the counterpart of common duties. With their natural attachment to their native soil and native deities, they combined the duty of

caring for the commonwealth and the fatherland to which they belonged. The time and strength of the nobles were the property of the commonwealth. The cares of government, the burden and cost of office and of the administration of justice, they gratuitously took upon themselves; they had to protect and defend the state and to render military service without compensation. They had to furnish military equipments at their own charge, to take the field on horseback or on foot, accompanied by their followers, and provide for the latter and for themselves without increasing the expenditure of the state; under all circumstances they fought in the first rank. Thus, as we have said, the privileges of the nobility were compensated by equivalent duties, and their pre-eminence in authority was balanced by pre-eminence in services to the state.

If the Greek nobility aimed at fulfilling their duties by just decisions, brave conduct, anxious care, and unselfish devotion to the commonwealth, it was inevitable that deeper and more serious moral impulses should be awakened in them. In contrast to the simple and natural ethics of the *Epos* arose the demand for moral self-education, and the training necessary to produce a capable man; the necessity for acquiring strength for this task by the elevation of the heart to the gods, by prayer and meditation, as well as sacrifice, must have been felt. The demand and the necessity must have had an influence on the general ideas concerning the gods. At the period of the rule of the aristocracy the Greeks had arrived at a conception of the nature of the gods, very different from that presented in the *Epos*. The invocation or hymn reappeared, and with renewed power, side by side with the heroic song; it successfully disputed with

the latter its claim to precedence. Not only did ancient hymns, which had been found efficacious in obtaining the favour of the gods, live in the tradition of the noble families, but the old custom, that had arisen with the sacrifices, of praising the god in the hymn that was adjudged the best, a custom from which the competitive songs at the great sacrifices had sprung, also found representatives among the singers, in consequence of the growing disposition to devotion and prayer. The epic breadth, which the hymn assumed under the influence of the heroic song, gave place to intensity of invocation; and instead of the narration of the deeds of the deity we find greater stress laid upon his nature and will. It was not from the mouth of the singer only that men desired to hear the praise of the god to whom they sacrificed; all were eager to extol the divinity, of whose glory their hearts were full. The community wished to participate in the devotion, to raise their souls and spirits to the god to whom the offerings were brought. Therefore, side by side with the new invocations of the singers, with the short choric songs in praise of the gods and the pæans, which had already been in use at an earlier period, the chorale was now employed for the more vivid realisation of the divine nature. At the common sacrifices of the cantons the singers no longer competed with their hymns, but those who took part in the embassies to the festival themselves joined in competitive choric songs as they advanced to the altar in solemn order during the dances which were going on around it in honour of the gods. The poet Eumelus of Corinth, as early as the middle of the eighth century, is said to have composed for the festival embassy of the Messenians to the sacrifice at Delos, the choric

song of which two verses have been preserved (*supra*, p. 59). Archilochus of Paros, and Terpander of Lesbos sang hymns to the gods, not like the blind singer of Chios in the tone of narration, but of a more fervid kind, which gave expression to a pious and devout mood, to reverence for the greatness of the gods, and thankfulness for their gifts. It was the merit of Terpander that by his cithara and musical modes he gave a fixed basis to the new requirements of worship, to the choric song and religious music of the Hellenes. This important alteration in poetry, encouraged by the more serious tendencies of the nobility, supported by the old notions of the gods embodied in their worship, demanded by the growing repute of the oracle of Delphi, endowed the poetic religion of the *Epos* with a deeper moral form. Zeus was now the beginning of all and the leader of all, the just ruler and disposer of gods and men; Athena became the type of a temperate and self-restrained disposition, of prudent conduct, of resolute bearing in the conflicts of life; Apollo the divine pattern of moral purity and elevation; Heracles of persistent labour voluntarily undertaken in troubles and difficulties, of subordination and self-denial, of unshaken courage which does not flinch even before the terrors of the under-world. The legend which placed him in the service of Eurystheus gave a trait to the portrait of the hero which, from a moral point of view, made him the type of self-command and obedience—the most vivid presentation of the heroic power which through conflict and renunciation ascends to heaven. How the conception of Apollo of Delphi came to the assistance of these tendencies and was stamped upon them, how the singers of the new type won fresh importance for the forms of Demeter

and Dionysus, which were far removed from the equestrian families, and how strong was the growth of the lyric poetry of Greece out of this movement, we shall see farther on.

In harmony with this more serious conception of the gods, we find more earnest moral demands, the inculcation of a magnanimous disposition, despising gain or rivalry, and moderation in conduct; warnings against arrogance, the enjoining of upright and manly behaviour, and the repudiation of cowardice, laziness, and sloth. Aristocracy among the Greeks is said to have been really what is asserted in the name it bore, "the government of the best" (ἄριστοι), of the "noble and the good." In the opinion of the Greeks a noble person was equivalent to a person of noble disposition. This consists in reverence for the gods and for the precepts of the fathers, in valour and fearlessness, in freedom from covetousness and avarice, in the right measure both of feeling and action, in a steadfast will towards the performance of duties to the commonwealth and devotion to it. This noble character, the germ and disposition for which is planted in the soul of the young nobles by virtue of their descent from noble fathers, is to be brought to a fair development by serious and constant training and discipline of body and soul—the former in the gymnasium and martial exercises; the latter in songs and choruses, and in intercourse with elder men. The result of this training is agility, strength, and beauty of body, and a noble temper and attitude of soul.

It was the general opinion of the Greeks that the inherited tendency to such a disposition was wanting in peasants and citizens not descended from noble fathers; that they were not only destitute of leisure

and means to give themselves and their sons the bodily and ethical culture, without which human greatness and virtue are not to be attained, but had also no possibility of undertaking the offices, cares, and duties of the commonwealth, or of acquiring a knowledge and right view of the state and its necessities. Labour in order to obtain the necessities of life was degrading in the eyes of the nobility; labour in arms and for the commonwealth is noble labour; labour for maintenance is common labour, and must render him common who pursues it. Nor was this the opinion of the nobility at that period only; Plato and Aristotle share the idea that work in the field, handicrafts, the cares of the merchant, and the toils of the trader are incompatible with a noble character and disposition. The soul of him who must make gain cannot be free from covetousness. Only the man who is in a position to live without care for maintenance, who does not need or desire to earn anything, can be or become noble; only in honourable leisure, in occupation with bodily training and practice in arms, with the concerns of worship and the wise sayings and songs of the poets, in the uninterrupted fulfilment of religious and political duties, can the truly noble man flourish. So the "best," the "noble and good," looked proudly down from their exclusive circles upon the people, who ate their bread in the sweat of their brow, as upon a cowardly, mercenary, covetous, and therefore ignoble multitude. If they could not manage this necessitous multitude, or repress the ambition of the more aspiring and better conditioned among them, they permitted emigration, thus giving to those who chose to incur the dangers of the voyage and of war an opportunity of taking the position in a new city which their fatherland refused

them. There, on some distant shore, in battle with the inhabitants, they might become valiant men, might gain lands and slaves by their spear, and thus at any rate attain to the foundation of a noble life.

The Greek aristocracy was more firmly established and stronger than any other, if we except the patricians of Rome. It was not merely the amount of its possessions that exalted it above the multitude, nor its better armour and more effective manner of fighting; it united the pre-eminence of a warlike aristocracy with that of an ecclesiastical order, the privileges of a knightly class with those of priests. It was at once the embodiment and source of sacred and profane law; it presided over the sacrifice and the court of justice; it unfolded in the courts the ordinances of the religious and secular code—tasks which in the East the priestly class had taken over from the temporal aristocracy. Among the Hellenes there was no division between the temporal and spiritual nobility; the authority of the noble and of the priest was united in one person. And while the Greek nobles seriously confronted the moral task assigned to them in the government of the commonwealth, while they lifted up heart and soul to the gods, whose nature they more deeply conceived, to strengthen themselves in their image for their work, they added to the superiority of arms, sacrifices, and judicial awards that of pre-eminent ability and moral excellence.

The worship of the Hellenes, in the form which it assumed at the beginning of the seventh century, is a lively expression of the union of the knightly class and the priesthood, of political life and religion. At the great sacrifices offered to the gods for the prosperity and wellbeing of the commonwealth the whole com-

munity took part. The number of those who participated rendered a solemn arrangement of the procession to the temple or altar a necessity. After the victims, with their adornments, followed the priests, the bearers of the implements required for the sacrifice, the officers of the state with the insignia of their offices, the nobles capable of bearing arms, either in infantry or cavalry equipment, according to the particular festival, or arrayed in pure white garments, with branches in their hands; finally, the elders and aged men. As the procession moved on there arose alternately from the various sections of it solemn chorales and processional songs which disposed the people to devotion. When the procession formed itself around the altar and the fire of the sacrifice ascended, the songs of the hymnodes were heard—the full choirs of men and elders, of youths and maidens. The solemn measures which Terpander, the founder of religious music, had taught the Greeks raised the heart to the contemplation and perception of the majesty of the god to whom the sacrifice was held. The competitive singing of hymns and of choric songs secured the inward participation, elevation, and edification which the Greek nobles sought in their worship. At the same time rows of dancers encircled the altar. In their rhythmic movement led by the music there was an expression of the feelings excited by the festival, and interpreted by the words of the choric songs. If it were a mythical act of the god with which the festival was associated, the dance strove to give a representation of it; at the Pythian festivals the dance of the boys imitated the conflict of Apollo with the dragon. The sacrifice was followed, if it had not been preceded, by competitive games and contests, with which the Greeks from the period of their warlike

monarchy delighted themselves and their gods on great feast days. As in festival processions the state displayed the number of its inhabitants, its power and military resources, so in the races and athletic contests, in leaping and in boxing, it opposed its strongest and finest men to one another. It was held that a state could not serve the gods better, or win their favour more effectually, than by showing to them at their festivals how many of its members had, through persistent training and effort, grown up to be noble and magnificent men. After the games came the recitations of the rhapsodists, who, by repeating passages from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, transported those who were keeping the feast into the midst of the conflicts and sufferings of the heroes of antiquity.

From the zeal of the nobility to make themselves "noble and good men," and to form in themselves the moral ideal by means of corporal and ethical labours, it resulted as a necessary consequence that the training and education of youth assumed great importance under the government of the aristocracy. The sons were to imitate their fathers and to become efficient members of the commonwealth, brave warriors, fair and good men. For this early discipline was required. If the boys and youths were to become god-fearing men a clear idea of the nature of the gods must be given to them, and they must be impressed as much as possible with the will of the gods. In this manner their souls must be rightly attuned; they must become high-minded, full of noble dispositions and endeavours to manifest this noble spirit in their power and versatility, in the beauty and strength of their bodies. The nobles of Greece received a religious education: religious poetry, and music,

were the means of education and culture for the Greek youth. The forms of the gods and heroes, as poetry showed them in the hymns and chorales sung in their praise, were calculated to influence the boys; through the rhythms of the chorales they were disposed to harmony and measure, to manliness and courage; through the words were impressed upon them the exalted and pure examples of the gods, the moral purity, and majesty of Apollo, the wisdom of Athena, the knightly valour of the Dioscuri, the patient obedience and daring courage of Heracles; the wise instructions given in their elegies by the poets since the beginning of the seventh century were to be committed to memory. What was learned came immediately into use; the chorales practised by the boys and youths were sung at the festivals of the gods; the cultus itself was their best school. Next to religious music stood orchestral music. The dance at the sacrifices to the glory of the gods served as the transition to the gymnastic education of the young.

We have seen that the nobles of Sparta, in the century when the victors' wreaths won by Spartans at Olympia were most numerous, made an Æolian singer their instructor in music (645 B.C.), having twenty years before introduced the Gymnopædiæ (*supra*, p. 95). The gymnastic of the Hellenes had its origin in their joy and delight in strength and agility of body, and was greatly developed by the active and warlike life of the Hellenes during the period of conflicts induced by the migrations, to which the period of colonisation succeeded. Military life among the Greeks had not consisted, as among other nations, in great expeditions set in motion at the command of a prince or directed against the oppression of powerful neigh-

bours. It was confined to the subjugation of small territories and to isolated conflicts of particular bands of colonists; it consisted further in piracy and adventures, in surprises and feuds among the cantons; but it was animated at all points, and the limited area in which it moved gave weight and play to the strength and capacity of each individual man. Good training in fighting was therefore of great importance. The gymnastic education of noble youths in this period was not, however, exclusively directed to future ability for war and military proficiency. The Greeks, from the time that the aristocracy held dominion in the cantons, distinctly endeavoured to give to the soul of man, to the nobility of his character, a corresponding expression in the body. The base-born person could be recognised by his crooked form, bowed down by labour; the noble man must be proud and upright in his step and bearing; his limbs must be well-proportioned, and all his powers must be evenly balanced. The result was that the Greeks were hardly able to separate body and soul in their thought; that to them the noble soul could not exist without the noble body; that the ideal of their ethics was "the fair and goodly man;" that poetry gave to the immortal prototypes, the gods, the noblest human forms. Military exercise was only one factor in the education of youth; gymnastic had to transform the whole body in order to make it the worthy expression of a good man.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ORACLE OF DELPHI.

THE necessity for leaning upon some higher power which man feels in his weakness and dependence, the unconquerable impulse of simpler generations to leave the decision in difficult circumstances to the Deity, the imperative desire to know the issue of the road which is about to be trodden, or is now being trodden, had led the Greeks from all antiquity to the oak of Dodona, and afterwards also to Pytho, the altar of Apollo on the southern declivity of Mount Parnassus under the precipices of the Phædriades. Here, as we have seen, from the beginning of the ninth century, oracles were given in the name of the all-seeing light-god. In the middle of that century the Thessalians had received responses from Delphi which regulated the succession to their throne, and the Dorians, some decades later, oracles which consecrated the new order of their commonwealth; the federation of which Argos was the head was probably formed under the protection of the god of Pytho, rather before than after this inquiry of the Spartans. It subsequently happened, probably soon after the beginning of the eighth century, that the Amphictyons undertook the protection of the oracle at Pytho, together with that of their ancient temple of Demeter at Anthela in the district of Thermopylæ. The great sacrifice at Delphi was celebrated

every eighth year with peculiar solemnity when the contest of the minstrels took place. As we have already seen, this period of time determined the recurrence of the great Olympian festival, and was thus in other ways of great importance in regard to the Hellenic Calendar (vol. i. p. 307).

The Greeks had no distinct priestly class; their priests coincided with the temporal aristocracy. The old and firmly established separation of prayer to the gods and performance of sacrifice had cut off from that class the root from which it might have sprung up. The families in which the priesthood at certain altars was hereditary, which had the custody of the ancient hymns, whose members could interpret the signs of the gods through inherited knowledge or special capability, were not isolated from the aristocracy of their cantons; they shared their fortunes in peace and war. Yet these families might still have formed a collective body among the Greeks, had not the divided character of Hellenic life confined to their native canton the influence of the houses in which sacrifice, sooth-saying, and the sacred chants were hereditary. A hierarchy can only be formed where the sacrifices of different districts interchange with each other their special knowledge of the ritual and of the gods, develop it farther in their midst, and exalt it into a system accessible to none but their fellow-members and followers; and where, with the support of this peculiar knowledge, the knowledge of the means whereby the divine favour can be obtained, they are able to prescribe rules of life, to assert their own interests, and to lay claim to precedence for their order. Even had the course of Hellenic life permitted such a combination of the priestly houses, a canon proceeding from them

respecting the nature and will of the gods would have been unavailing, when once heroic poetry superseded the ancient hieratic songs, when free secular poetry had taken precedence of the more circumscribed religious type, when the work of poetry had outstripped the work of the priest, when the poetical imagination had conquered heaven from priestly meditation and inspiration, and when epic poets had given to the Greeks a standard of divine and human perfection. It was the rhapsodists who now proclaimed to the multitude, not only the deeds of the heroes, but the counsels of Zeus, the wrath of Apollo, the powerful aid of Athena, the resolute strength of Poseidon, the wiles of Hera, the art of Hephæstus, the joys and sorrows of the divinities on the summit of Olympus. When the characters and proceedings of the gods had once been disclosed in so vivid, impressive, and realistic a manner, the way was rendered more difficult, if it were not entirely barred and closed, for priestly expositions of the divine nature. The distinction and formation of a hierarchical class presupposes that a deeper knowledge of the nature and will of the gods can only be obtained through the tradition of priestly families, and by admission into these; whereas the *Epos* had given to the whole people a knowledge of heaven that was at any rate eminently clear. Such a hierarchy demands that the nature of gods and men should stand in a certain contradiction, that human nature shall be regulated and changed. There must be an opposition more or less violent, universal or partial, to the natural impulses, *i.e.* the eradication of these impulses, or at any rate of entire surrender to them, is necessary in order to assimilate man's conduct to the nature and will of the

gods. In the Homeric *Epos*, on the other hand, the divine nature was a stronger and nobler human nature; the gods were but the more highly endowed and perfected human creatures. In order to gain the favour of these gods it was not necessary for a man to acquire a supernatural purity, or for the priest to dictate the precepts of an ascetic life; he had only to control his impulses and passions, to follow his moral instincts, and to honour the gods by offerings and gifts. But if the singers of the heroic songs were thus at the head of the religious development, and had pushed the priests into the background to become prophets in their stead; if the danger of a hierarchy, of the rule of a narrow priestly system, and the repression and hemming in of the free process of life, was in this manner definitively removed for the Greeks, there was all the greater danger of their making shipwreck on the opposite rock. The present world had been made so great in epic poetry as to become all-powerful. If these naive presentations of the gods were to be received and further developed, the result must be the secularisation of religion: a lively play of fancy must supersede and finally extinguish religious earnestness, devotion, and strength; elevation and moral support could no longer be sought in the contemplation of the nature of the gods. However religious the disposition and fundamental qualities of the Greeks might be, however zealous and anxious they were that no sacred usage, observed by their forefathers, should be unfulfilled, that the accustomed honours of the gods should not be curtailed, that the signs of the gods should be carefully studied, and the precepts of purification maintained, however great the counterpoise supplied by the ancient forms

of worship to the poetical religion, the most pernicious aberrations could scarcely have been avoided by those men. But the standard of the *Epos* was counterbalanced by the earnest moral conceptions which prevailed concerning the gods among the nobles. One form of poetry corrected the other, that is to say, minstrels again placed themselves at the head of a reaction which restored to the hymn its true character, impressed the hearts of the community by means of the choric song, and directed public worship to the elevation and devotion of the heart. Last, but not least, the supernatural side of religion found a steadfast support in the oracle of Delphi; and the deeper conception of the gods, the new worship, received sanction, encouragement, and development from the same source, where more immediately than at Dodona, and with greater force and impressiveness, Heaven and the Beyond shone forth in the midst of this present world.

"The king, to whom belongs the oracle of Delphi," says a sentence of Heraclitus of Ephesus, "neither speaks nor conceals, but indicates."[1] The meaning of this is that the essential nature of the oracle of Apollo is neither the foretelling of the future nor the unveiling of the hidden; its task is rather to proclaim the commands of the god, his instructions, his laws, and the ordinances (*θέμιστες*) of Zeus to men. Abundant opportunity for this was given to the oracle. In every misfortune that overtook a commonwealth, in every calamity, a bad harvest, an infectious disorder, a reverse in war, the Greeks saw the effects of divine anger. The commonest question asked at Delphi by the cantons was: How, through what service might such

[1] Plutarch, *De Pyth. Orac.* 21 [*Fragm.* 11 Byw.]

displeasure of the gods be turned away? They also inquired by what means past crimes, openly and publicly committed, might be atoned for to the divine and human law, and how pollutions of the land and their disastrous results might be averted.

The priesthood of Delphi was therefore in a position to exercise great and important influence on the form of worship in the cantons. Apollo, the god of light, was to the Greeks, like Mitra to the Arians in Iran and India, the god of physical and moral purity. It was therefore before all things the duty of the Delphic priesthood to maintain in force the ancient customs of purification and the cleansing of pollution, which gives to the dark spirits power over men. We have already described the usages regarding purification, in the observance of which the Greeks were very careful; the custom of feeding the sacrificial fire with particular kinds of wood only, like the Arians in Iran, and of kindling that fire only from a pure sacrificial flame. Emigrants carried fire from the Prytaneum of their mother city into their new abodes; the Spartan army, when they set out on an expedition, carried fire into the field from their altars at home. At Lemnos all the fires were extinguished every year, because they might possibly have become impure, and were relighted by new fire procured from the altar of Apollo in Delos. After Delphi had attained celebrity, the altar of the pure god at Delphi furnished the purest fire,[1] as the bough from the laurel grove of Apollo at Delphi, dipped in the water of purification, best removed pollution, and most surely cancelled impurity. The priests of Delphi were very anxious that the precepts concerning the purifying of territories from the defilement of

[1] Plut. *Arist.* 20; Philostr. *Heroic.* 19, 14.

bloodshed should be observed; in the first half of the eighth century (vol. i. p. 306) they increased the severity of the regulations for the expiation of murder. Plato's *Laws* require for the ideal pattern state not only that purifications according to the Delphic law shall be maintained there, but also that the laws of Delphi respecting public worship shall be inquired into, and interpreters appointed to explain them.[1]

As far as can be seen, not only did the oracle of Delphi regulate and enforce the prescripts for purification and atonement for murder, but from this centre also the deeper ethical conception of the gods received a lively impulse, though originating elsewhere. Apollo was to the Greeks from all antiquity the god of purity, far removed from wrong, from faults and sins; he punished the sinner and the wicked. In all the Greek heaven no form was therefore more fitted to create moral elevation. His pure and radiant nature constrained him to punish crime. As soon as freedom from pollution was understood as a matter that concerned not a man's hands only, but also his actions and feelings, Apollo necessarily became the guardian of moral life, and the expression of moral purity and exaltation. The ethical tendency emanating from Delphi is at once shown in that feature of the Delphic legend, in which the god himself, after the conquest of the dragon, flees and expiates by servitude the stains of blood which had polluted him, submits to the penalty, fulfils in his own person the law of purification. To this example his servants had to conform; and in so doing they might confidently expect that the consciousness of guilt and its torments would be taken away, and that the Erinnyes would have no power over them. Apollo,

[1] *Laws*, 865, 759.

who governs the seasons by his light, and makes this order unchangeable, was likewise the god of measure, of abiding rules, of fixed law, of harmonious order. The tones of his cithara soothed the passionate tumults of the restless heart, as his friendly beam, breaking through the dark clouds, calmed the wild billows of the stormy sea. If the priests of Delphi deeply studied and considered the true nature of their god, they might well regard themselves as the appointed interpreters of his will; and inquirers who received oracles of this description might easily preserve and honour them as expressions of divine wisdom. This conception of the nature of Apollo goes deeper into the original traits of his character than the epic, and finally predominated over the latter view. The ethical significance of the other deities also must in the same manner have grown and developed, as we have already indicated (p. 216).

The contact that took place there between heaven and earth, and the importance of the oracle, made Delphi a central point of Hellenic life, and to a certain extent the ecclesiastical capital of Hellas. From such an elevation the priests of Delphi were at once in a position to interfere with sacred authority in the political life of the nation. Free from the interests which divided and estranged the cantons, and from their passions and strife, surveying the whole situation of the Hellenic people, they were able to impart very practical, seasonable, and wholesome counsels as the oracles of their god. It would have been well for the Greeks if these priests had always taken such exalted views, preserved this earnest character, and kept themselves within these limits. We know the political instructions which Delphi gave to the Dorians of Laconia in respect to the ordering of their common-

wealth, and how towards the end of the eighth century this constitution given by the Delphic oracle was again altered by the same authority, and the power of the king essentially increased (*supra*, p. 77). According to Greek tradition, the Delphic oracle had directed the entire colonisation that went forth from the peninsula; the sentences which the emigrants obtained at Delphi determined the choice of the places where they were to found their new abodes. Delphi is said to have directed Archias of Corinth to Ortygia (p. 41), the Chalcidians to Rhegium, the Achæans to Croton, the Parthenians to Tarentum (p. 86), the Megarians to the Bosphorus. These oracles, such of them as have been preserved, are manifestly derived from the traditions of those colonies; and the majority of them are proved by their contents to have been inventions of the colonists. Yet it is beyond question, that for the most part, the emigrants really regarded Apollo as the leader of their expedition. Theocles, as we have seen, dedicated to "the leader" Apollo (Archegetes), an altar upon the declivity of Mount Taurus in Sicily on which he founded his new city, the Sicilian Naxos; and it is certain that at the close of the eighth century, B.C., Delphi commanded the Parians to build a city on the island of Eeria (p. 173); that half a century later the Megarians were also instructed by Delphi to make a second settlement on the Bosphorus (p. 50); and that further, an oracle had told some exiles from the island of Thera to abandon the attempt to return by force of arms, and to found a new home for themselves on foreign shores.[1]

On the coasts of Anatolia, from the middle of the eighth century, the fame of Delphi not only eclipsed

[1] *Infra*, Book 4, chap. 18.

in the Greek cities that of their own oracles (*e.g.* of Apollo at Didyma, near Miletus, and Apollo at Clarus, near Colophon), but we find native princes of Asia Minor, such as the king of Phrygia, honouring Delphi, and the princes of Lydia afterwards inquiring there. It is clear that these princes can only have heard of the oracle through the cities of the coast. King Midas of Phrygia, whose wife was the daughter of Agamemnon, king of Cyme (vol. i. p. 238), dedicated his throne, "a work of art worth seeing," as Herodotus says, to the god of Pytho; and when, about 690 B.C., Gyges tried to take the throne of Lydia from the descendants of the sun-god Sandon, who had occupied it more than five centuries, and his arms were unsuccessful for the attainment of that end, he agreed with the adverse party to appeal to the light-god of Delphi, and leave the decision to that oracle. The decision was in favour of Gyges, who then ascended the throne of Lydia. In gratitude he dedicated six golden mixing bowls, not less than thirty talents in weight, and a number of silver vessels.[1] The oracle had thus placed a prince and a dynasty upon the throne, which as we have seen soon brought upon the Greeks in Asia severe trouble and distress (p. 196).

In very ancient times the god of Delphi is said to have only spoken once a year,—in the spring when the new light came, and with the new light new fruit was formed, in the month Bysius (February, March) of the Delphic year,[2] during which the Amphictyons brought the common offering to Delphi. The great sacrifices fell in every eighth year, as we have seen, in autumn. Afterwards the god spoke on the seventh day of every month, and even oftener, if the day were

[1] Herodot. 1, 14.

[2] Plut. *Quæst. Gr.* 9.

not forbidden and the signs were favourable.[1] He who came to inquire of the god must prepare himself for several days, must cleanse himself carefully and undergo sprinklings with the water of the spring of Cassotis. In the interior of the temple there stood near the altar the "divining hearth of Hellas," the ancient stone of the god (vol. i. p. 295, note) which was now regarded by the Greeks as the navel of the earth. The inquirer, adorned with laurel wreaths, sacrificed an animal, generally a goat, at the altar.[2] If the priests found the animal perfect and the signs propitious, the inquirer might descend into the superstructure of the cave, a chamber formed of great stone blocks. The *Iliad* speaks of the "stone threshold of Pytho." Here stood a lofty tripod covered with laurel, above the cave, "the mouth of the earth," as the Greeks called it.[3] A chalice hanging between the feet of the tripod contained teeth and bones, the supposed relics of the dragon. The inquirer placed himself on the threshold, and awaited in deep silence the answer of the Pythia. She also had prepared herself by bathing and a three days' fast. She burnt barley meal on the altar at the stone of Apollo, drank from the spring of Cassotis, which was conducted into the temple and lost itself in the cleft, took laurel leaves in her mouth, and arrayed in a long garment[4] and with gold ornaments in her flowing hair, ascended the tripod beside which the prophet took his place. The ascending vapours gradually brought the Pythia into a state of ecstasy. Foaming at the mouth and with convulsive movements she gave utterance to some

[1] Plut. *Alex.* 14.
[2] Diodor. 16, 26; Plut. *De defect. Or.* 49.
[3] Strabo, p. 419.
[4] Pausan. 10, 27, 4; Plut. *De Pyth. Orac.* 24; *De defect. Or.* 51.

clear words or incomprehensible tones which the prophet caught, and having connected them into a sentence announced it to the inquirer.

Around the place of the oracle, a community had grown up from Mount Parnassus out of the neighbouring towns of the Phocians,[1] which was ruled by the ancient houses in their midst. These were designated as the kings, the nobles of Delphi. From this community of noble families, among whom the Thracidæ and the Laphriadæ are mentioned, the five priests of Apollo were chosen, as we are informed, by lot.[2] These "five" were called the holy ones: they were inducted with special consecrations and sacrifices into their office, which they had then to fill for the rest of their lives. It was they who had to nominate the officiating priests and prophets from the circle of their own associates, from the community of the noble families; and who chose the Pythia, the maiden who received the revelations of the god, from among all the maidens of Delphi, without distinction of birth. The chosen maiden was pledged to celibacy; if this vow were violated the office was taken from her.[3]

The territory of Delphi belonged to the land of the Crisæans. To the westward of it, on the declivity of Mount Parnassus as it slopes to the seashore, upon a rock descending steeply to the Pleistus, stood the city, the "sacred Crisa,"[4] mentioned in the "Catalogue of Ships" in the *Iliad*, together with "rocky Pytho." To this day the site is indicated by remains of mighty polygonal walls. Its importance in ancient times is shown by the name of the Crisaic Gulf, then borne by

[1] Strabo, p. 418; Justin. 24, 6.
[2] Plut. *Quæst. Gr.* 9; Diod. 16, 24; Hesych. Λαφριάδαι.
[3] Eurip. *Ion.* 1323; Plut. *Pyth. Orac.* 22; Herodot. 6, 66.
[4] *Il.* 2, 520.

the Gulf of Corinth. Crisa commanded the entrance to Delphi from the coast of this gulf. As the place became more important, the Delphic community naturally endeavoured to free itself from this dependence on Crisa.

Soon after the beginning of the eighth century, B.C., the sacrificial associates of Anthela, the Amphictyons, as we have seen, undertook the protection of the temple of Delphi, and brought their common offerings not only to Demeter at Thermopylæ, but also to Apollo at Pytho; their embassies now assembling in spring for the Pylæa at Delphi, and in autumn, after the harvest sacrifice, for the festival of Demeter at Anthela (vol. i. p. 300). The growing importance of the Delphic oracle must have raised a desire in the cantons not only to participate in the sacrifice at Delphi, and to obtain free conduct for their embassies thither, but also to take an active part in the noble service of the protection of the temple at Pytho, and the maintenance of peace during the festival; and in the conduct of it to gain, in fine, a legitimate and influential position in regard to the most famous temple of the Hellenes. Such a position was only to be attained by admission into the existing community of the sacrificial associates, the Amphictyons, into the council upon which devolved the guardianship of the temple. But the number of the members, twelve, was sacred from of old, and could not be exceeded. An expedient was devised by which the twelve votes of the ancient members were doubled, and thus each was able to transfer to kindred tribes and communities the second vote that was now conferred. Thus we find together with the Dorians from the affluents of the northern Cephissus, the Dorians of the Peloponnesus, especially the Argives, Corinthians,

and Lacedæmonians represented in the Amphictyonic council. The Hestiæans, driven out by the Thessalians and settled among the Ionians in Eubœa (vol. i. pp. 284, 296), gave a claim to the Ionian race: with the Ionians of Eubœa we find the Ionians of Athens. With the eastern Locrians, the western Locrians also received a place among the Amphictyons.[1] Among the Bœotians Thebes had one vote, and the rest of the Bœotian cities the second; among the Dorians of the Peloponnesus the second vote of the Doric race may have been interchanged among the states already mentioned. The four-and-twenty votes were given in the council by those representatives of the confederate states who were called Hieromnemones. Besides these, each confederate sent Pylagori, who had no vote, but might speak in the assembly of Amphictyons. The theori, who brought the victims for the various communities, had neither seat nor voice in the council.[2] The duties of the Amphictyonic body consisted in the superintendence of the temples at Anthela and Pytho; the maintenance and protection of these temples; supervision of the common sacrifices, that worthy and proper offerings might be presented; maintenance of the truce; free passage of the embassies of the Amphictyonic and non-Amphictyonic states; of peace during the festival and order at the sacrifice; the conducting of musical and poetical contests; and the awarding of the prizes at the great Octennial Sacrifice at Delphi.[3]

At what period the extension of the Amphictyonic council at Anthela and Delphi, by the doubling of the

[1] Bürgel, *Die Pylæisch-delphische Amphiktionie*, s. 60 ff; Plut. *Themist.* 20; Æschin. *M. g. leg.* 115, 116.

[2] Bürgel, *loc. cit.* s. 111 ff.

[3] Pausan. 6, 4, 2.

votes of the original members, took place, can only be approximately determined. We have already come to the conclusion that the precepts of the Delphic criminal law of expiation for murder and purification, found entrance into Attica before the middle of the eighth century (*supra*, p. 121). In the old Attic formula, the sentence upon the murderer (*supra*, p. 129) was that he should keep at a distance not only from the market, the altars, and the boundaries, but also "from the Amphictyonic festivals." According to this, there must have existed close relations between Attica and Delphi as early as the eighth century, and as we certainly know that theori of Attica went to Delphi before the year 650 B.C. (*supra*, p. 128, note 2), we may venture to place the participation of Athens in the Amphictyonic council, and with it the admission of all the other newly received states, about the year 700 B.C.

But though Delphi at this period was the most important centre, the ecclesiastical capital of Hellas, though the Amphictyonic League, after the doubling of its votes, embraced almost all the tribes of the Greek peninsula, the national life of the Hellenes was far from being consolidated, or such union as there was rendered effective by these means. It was confined to the protection of the temple and of pilgrims, and to keeping the peace of the festival; its authority extended at most to questions of the sacred law. The assembly of the Amphictyons exercised no function which the representatives of other sacrificial leagues might not also claim; but while these carried out their own decrees, the Amphictyons could only act upon the resolution of the assembly, passed by a majority of votes in council. Argos claimed for itself, as head of

the sacrificial league of Apollo Pythæus, the right of inflicting punishments upon members of the league, not only for infringing the sacred law, but in cases where one member had lent aid to a third state at war with another member (*supra*, p. 17); the Eleans, by virtue of their conducting the Olympic sacrifice, claimed similar powers, though, in this case, they only concerned the peace of the festival and the suspension of arms during its continuance. The Amphictyons regarded their position in a similar manner. They made the necessary arrangements for the welfare of the temple, honoured and rewarded the protection of it, and punished crimes against it. It was incumbent on each of the voting tribes and states to bring charges of infringement of the sacred law before the assembly: the assembly either dismissed or received them, inflicted fines, and decreed military expeditions for the destruction of those whom they had declared to be sinners against the temple. But it was always a question whether their resolutions would then be attended to, whether the fines they imposed would be paid to the god, whether Amphictyonic states would be found to take upon themselves the execution of the sentence. The Amphictyonic assembly did not exercise any political, and still less a national, activity; at no period did they hinder wars among the states included in the league, neither the wars of the Thessalians against the Bœotians, nor any other conflict of the federal states; they never even made an attempt to interpose between them as umpires or arbitrators.[1]

[1] The religious character of the Amphictyones is confirmed by all their actions that have been related to us. The setting of a price on the head of Ephialtes was essentially influenced by the fact that this man's treason allowed the Persians to make an attack upon Delphi. Even the erection of the monument to Scyllies and those who fell at Ther-

The Amphictyons never tried to give their states any national bent or bias, to maintain, or in later times, to unite them against the general enemy. When, at a subsequent period, it was sought to use the discussion of religious questions before the Amphictyons for political ends, this speedily produced results of the most unfortunate kind, and ruinous to the whole nation.

mopylæ has reference to religious duties: in the battles at Thermopylæ the protection of Delphi was at stake. When the Spartans required the exclusion of all the states which had not fought against the Persians, Themistocles opposed them, fearing lest the Spartans should thus gain the preponderance in the Amphictyonic council, and he prevented the resolution from being carried into effect; Plut. *Them.* 20. The complaints of the Thessalian merchants who were robbed and misused in Scyros were received by the Amphictyonic council, and a fine was imposed, but the sentence was not executed; Plut. *Cimon*, 8; cf. E. M. E. Meier, *Schiedsrichter*, s. 35.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE OLYMPIA.

THE commonwealth of Elis which the Ætolians, who entered the Peloponnesus over the Gulf of Corinth with the Dorians, had founded, after the conquest of the Epeans, on the Peneus, was governed by the posterity of Oxylus, who is said to have led the Ætolians thither; and the descendants of the warriors who conquered the land formed the ruling class of the state. As the Thessalians gradually extended the domain which they had subjugated, so the Eleans afterwards pressed farther to the south, dispossessing the Pisatæ who inhabited the lower river valley of the Alpheus, from this part of their territory, or reducing them to the condition of Periœci, and confining the free Pisatæ to the eastern portion of their country, and the borders of the Arcadian highlands on the upper course of the Alpheus.[1] On the soil now belonging to the Eleans, at the confluence of the Cladeus with the Alpheus, on the declivity of the mountain chain called Olympus, which here slopes down to the plain of the Alpheus, the Pisatæ had sacrificed to Zeus and Hera. According to Greek usage, the princes of the Eleans were careful not to withhold the accustomed honours from

1 That Dyspontium, one of the eight communities of the Pisatæ (Strabo, p. 356), had become one of the Periœcic towns of Elis before 776 B.C., is shown by the catalogue of the victors at Olympia; *Olymp.* 2. [See p. 243, note 2.]

the gods; they, therefore, continued or renewed the sacrifice previously offered by the Pisatæ on this spot.

It must have been soon after the period in which the Eleans became masters of this part of the territory of the Pisatæ, and before the Minyæ, on their expulsion from the shore of the Laconic Gulf after the taking of Helos, had founded their new colonies to the south of the lower course of the Alpheus, among the Caucones and Paroreatæ (vol. i. p. 402), that King Iphitus of Elis, son of Iphitus (thus he is called in the ancient records of the Eleans, in other accounts he is said to be the son of Hæmon or Praxonides),[1] admitted the Pisatæ to a participation in their ancient sacrifice. At that time, we are told, the Pisatæ were governed by Cleosthenes, son of Cleonicus. With the Pisatæ, the Achæans, the northern neighbours of the Eleans, the Caucones who lay on their southern border, and the Dorians of Messenia were also admitted; and the sacrifice was now held every fourth year at Midsummer.[2] As lord of the soil on which this sacrifice was offered, the king of Elis presided over the festival. The states who assisted in it bound themselves neither to attack Elis nor injure the country by marching through it in arms during the festival, while the king of Elis was to pro-

[1] Pausan. 5, 4, 6. [Phleg. *Fragm.* 1, M.]

[2] That the Achæans had taken part in the sacrifice, either from its first institution, or very soon after, is shown by the mention of the Achæan who was victor in the Stadium in 756 B.C. The participation of the Caucones follows from the statement of Pausanias that the Scilluntians had erected the first temple to Hera at Olympia, which was the ancient wooden temple (5, 16, 1). The Caucones had not lost the territory of Scillus—that is, the valley of the Selinus—to the Minyæ. Before Scillus had taken part in the sacrifice, it could not have erected temples at Olympia. The account of Pausanias rests on the tradition of the Eleans, and is therefore to be trusted in regard to a gift not offered by them.

vide for the protection of the festal embassies and pilgrims, and to keep the peace during the festival itself (vol. i. pp. 394, 395). The formation of this sacrificial league between immigrant and old established tribes is a sign that by degrees peace was beginning to prevail in the Peloponnesus; we have seen an analogous state of things in the north, when the Thessalians were admitted into the ancient Amphictyony of the tribes which they had subjugated, an event which there, no doubt, took place somewhat earlier, not long after 800 B.C. (vol. i. p. 299).

It was an Elean, Corœbus by name, who is said to have conquered in the race on the occasion of the first common sacrifice on the Alpheus; at any rate, Corœbus was the earliest of the victors who could be remembered when they began to be chronicled. The festival at which Corœbus received the prize falls, according to the list of victors, in the year 776 B.C. The inscription on the sepulchral monument afterwards erected to Corœbus proclaimed, as Pausanias relates, that he had first conquered in this place, and that his grave had been made on the borders of the land of Elis (towards the territory of the free Pisatæ).[1] At the second festival a man from one of the Pisatan communities which had been degraded into Periœci[2] was the conqueror; at the third and fourth, the prize was won by Messenians; at the sixth, by an Achæan of Dyme.

According to the testimony of the Homeric poems, the prizes competed for by the Greeks at their trials

[1] Pausan. 8, 26, 4.

[2] He is called in the Catalogue Ἠλεῖος ἐκ Δυσποντίου, for obvious reasons. Hypenus, the victor in *Olymp.* 14 = 724 B.C., is called by Pausanias (5, 8, 6) a Pisatan, and by Philostratus (*Gymn.* p. 20, Daremb.) an Elean, which must be an alteration, made at a period when the independence of the Pisatæ was wholly destroyed—perhaps by Aristodemus of Elis.

of skill were costly vessels and weapons which the kings offered. The prize given by the Doric cities in Asia at the common sacrifice celebrated by them to Apollo on the promontory of Triopium, was a tripod of bronze which it was customary for the winner to dedicate to the god (vol. i. p. 331). After the sixth celebration of the festival at Olympia, *i.e.* after the year 756 B.C., King Iphitus of Elis went, we are told, to Delphi to inquire of the god, whether it was agreeable to him that the victor at the games should be crowned; and the god replied, "Give to the victor for his reward no fruit of the apple, but with the fruit of the wild olive tree thou mayest crown him, which now is surrounded with the delicate webs of the spider." Iphitus on his return saw among the numerous olive trees in the sacred precincts one that was covered with spider webs, and from this olive tree Daicles the Messenian, who won the foot race at the seventh Olympia in 752 B.C., received the first victor's wreath. To the south-west of the later temple of Zeus stood an old olive tree from which these wreaths were taken.[1]

Participation in the common sacrifice offered to Zeus and Hera at Olympia (for so the place of sacrifice was called from the heights above it) was limited until the middle of the eighth century to the western side of the Peloponnesus. A modification, which soon led to a considerable extension of the sacrificial league, was introduced in consequence of the claim advanced by King Phidon of Argos, to the presidency and management of the festival, on the ground of his descent from Heracles (through Temenus, the eldest son of Aristomachus, great-grandson of Heracles). Heracles is said to have instituted and arranged the Olympic

[1] [Phleg. *Fragm.* 1, M; Dionys. Hal. *Ant.* 1, 71.]

sacrifice—a legend which could only have emanated from a royal house which claimed the hero as its ancestor. We have seen above that there is no reason to doubt that it was the Pisatæ who called in Phidon to their assistance. The power of Argos attained its climax under King Phidon; and the Pisatæ were naturally eager to regain their former dominion on the Alpheus, which the Eleans had taken from them. The resistance which the Eleans offered to Phidon was broken. He "drove away the Eleans who superintended the contest," as Herodotus says, offered the sacrifice in conjunction with the Pisatæ, and presided over the games of the eighth festival, in the year 748 B.C. He restored to the Pisatæ, we are told, the valley of the lower Alpheus; and having given to the Hellenes of the peninsula their first coinage and measures, he now fixed the length of the Olympic course, the Stadium, which henceforward became the Greek standard of length (600 feet). It was not Heracles, as asserted by the legend, who measured out the Stadium by the length of his foot; the distance was fixed by the Heraclid Phidon.[1]

Reduced in their territory and curtailed in their rights by Argos, the Eleans found help in Sparta, which was seriously threatened by the growing power of Phidon. The combined armies of Sparta and Elis were successful. The Pisatæ were again driven back to the mountains,[2] and the Eleans were able to preside at the very next celebration of the great sacrifice at Olympia (744 B.C.). From this valuable service to

[1] [See Hultsch, *Metrologie*, p. 33, 2d ed.]

[2] We have already seen (*supra*, p. 28) that it was not at this time but about 580 B.C. that all Pisatis and Triphylia came into the possession of the Eleans, through the assistance of Sparta.

the Eleans must be dated the entrance of Sparta into the sacrificial league of Olympia, and the closer relation between Sparta and Elis. The Spartans at first took no very active part in the competitive contests, for soon after these events they found themselves fully occupied by the twenty years' war with Messenia. Their success in this war not only put an end to the brilliant achievements which the Messenians had gained at Olympia before they were attacked by Sparta (in the first eleven Olympiads no fewer than seven Messenians were victorious), it entirely destroyed Messenia. To throw these successes of the Messenians as much as possible into the shade, and to glorify their own state, the Spartans, relying on their closer connection with Elis, now adopted a legend which ascribed the institution of the common sacrifice at Olympia to Lycurgus and Iphitus (vol. i. p. 397).

Pausanias tells us that King Iphitus, besides offering the common sacrifice at Olympia, alone conducted the contests, and alone adjudged the prizes; which functions his descendants continued to exercise till the year 580 B.C.[1] At any rate monarchy was still in existence among the Eleans when Phidon of Argos held the festival of the year 748 B.C., when he reinstated the Pisatæ in their ancient territory, when these losses were again made good, and long after that period. The successes gained with the assistance of Sparta were far from securing for the Eleans the desired end. The Pisatæ did not abandon their claim. They never forgot that they were the legitimate owners of the place of sacrifice, and that to them alone belonged the right of presenting the offerings and directing the contests.[2] Strabo says, that about the year 672 B.C., the

[1] Pausan. 5, 9, 4; 5, 4, 4, 5.

[2] Xenoph. *Hellen.* 7, 4, 28.

Pisatæ reconquered their land, *i.e.* the territory of Olympia, and again conducted the sacrifice.[1] Julius Africanus accounts for the presentation of the sacrifice by the Pisatæ in 668 B.C., by saying that the Eleans were then at war with the Achæans of Dyme; at the next festival they presided as before.[2] He goes on to say that from 660 to 572 B.C. the Pisatæ conducted the festival. Pausanias, on the other hand, observes that in the lists of the Eleans only those festivals are wanting which were held by the Pisatæ in the years 748, 644, and 364 B.C.[3] From these statements so much at least is clear: that the Pisatæ after they had regained their territory (towards the year 672 B.C.), *i.e.* at any rate, the place of sacrifice, also made good their claims to the direction of the festival. Accordingly, we find it stated in regard to the festival of 580 B.C., that the Eleans from that time nominated two Hellanodicæ instead of one;[4] till that time also each of the eight communities of the Pisatæ had sent one of their noble women for the sacrifice offered to Hera, along with Zeus, at Olympia; and the Eleans had sent eight of their women, who offered to the goddess a peplus woven by themselves, and gave the prizes at the maidens' races which were connected with the sacrifice to Hera.[5] With due consideration of these statements and of the circumstance that in the tradition of the Eleans, to whom alone, after the destruction of the

[1] Strabo, p. 355. That the lower districts of Pisatis, Dyspontium, Heraclea, Salmone were held by the Eleans follows from the Catalogue of the Olympic victors, which assigns the victory in the chariot race in 672 B.C. to an Elean of Dyspontium (Phlegon ap. Steph. Byz. Δυσπόντιον, *Fragm.* 4, M); and also from the insurrection of the Periœci of Dyspontium in 580 B.C. [2] Euseb. *Chron.* 1, 198 *sqq.* Sch.

[3] Pausan. 6, 22, 3; 6, 4, 2; 6, 8, 3.

[4] Pausan. 5, 9, 4. [5] Pausan. 5, 16.

Pisatæ, the plain belonged, every effort was made to efface the share of their rivals in the sacrifice, we may be able to assume with tolerable certainty that the quarrel between the Pisatæ and Eleans, as to the conduct of the festival, was adjusted by a treaty; that this treaty established their common direction of the sacrifice and of the games;[1] that subsequently (that is probably after the year 668 or 660 B.C.) they each elected a judge to preside over the festival; and that this arrangement existed for nearly eighty years, with the one exception that in 644 B.C. the Pisatæ held the sacrifice to the exclusion of the Eleans. The cause of this exception, the turn of affairs which finally restored the sole conduct of the festival to the Eleans, who now appointed both the judges, will appear farther on. But it is important to remember that the Pisatæ were able to win back the joint presidency from the Eleans, and to maintain it till 580 B.C. The consent of the Eleans to the joint presidency is only to be explained on the supposition that the Pisatæ had at any rate reacquired possession of the place of sacrifice.

At the period of the joint presidency monarchy was still in existence among the Pisatæ. In an Elean legend, the origin of which, as we shall see, cannot be earlier than 680 B.C., Oxylus is said to have made a descendant of Pelops, *i.e.* of the ancient prince of Pisa, joint-founder[2] of the state of Elis. This legend is rather in favour of the existence of monarchy among the Eleans also in the first half of the seventh century than against it. At any rate the assertion of Pausanias that the descendants of Iphitus had the conduct of the sacrifice in their hands until 580 B.C.,

[1] In regard to this question, I agree entirely with Busolt (*Lakedæmonier*, s. 164 ff).

[2] *Infra*, p. 254.

shows that the house of Oxylus continued in high consideration and in possession of this inherited privilege until after the year 600 B.C. After the fall of the monarchy the nobility bore rule in Elis. This class was there divided into nine tribes, each of which sent ten representatives to the Gerousia or governing council. The Gerontes held their office for life. At the head of the aristocratic government stood Prytanes. Aristotle lays stress upon the oligarchical character of the constitution of Elis.[1] The community of the Elean nobility ruled over considerable towns inhabited by Periœci: the nobles themselves were men of wealth. As descendants of the conquerors of the country they owned fertile acres, extensive pastures, and numerous slaves. No part of the Peloponnesus was better adapted to the breeding of horses than Elis. If the monarchy of the Oxylidæ fell before the year 580 B.C., or even before 660 B.C., the Gerousia chose the president of the Olympic sacrifice on behalf of Elea from the house of Oxylus. After the year 580 B.C., when the Eleans alone chose both judges, the prerogative of the Oxylidæ was removed, and the judges, as we are told by Pausanias, were chosen by lot. These judges, after the middle of the seventh century, bore the proud title of judges of the Hellenes (Hellenodicæ).

Neither the conflicts of the Pisatæ with the Eleans, nor their joint leadership of the festival, prevented the growing extension of the circle of sacrificial confederates after the admission of Sparta in 744 B.C.; the number of the states who assisted at the sacrifice and at the games thenceforward steadily increased. We can only follow this increase approximately in the names that have been preserved of the victors; and these are only

[1] *Polit.* 5, 5, 8 = 1306 *b* 15 ff.

the victors in the Stadium, in modes of contest newly introduced, or in some other manner remarkable. Twenty years after the sacrifice, held by Phidon in conjunction with the Pisatæ, we find Corinthians named as victors in the Stadium of Olympia; subsequently in 720 B.C. a Megarian, and before the end of the century Sicyonians and Epidaurians. With the beginning of the seventh century the circle extends beyond the Peloponnesus; at the first festivals of this century, the victors were Athenians (*supra*, p. 127). In 688 B.C. a Smyrnæan, and in 672 a Crotoniat won the prize for boxing.[1] After the year 700 B.C. the Ionians of Asia, and the Achæans of Lower Italy took part in the Olympia. At this time we find Thebans also mentioned as conquerors; in 648 B.C. Lygdamis the Syracusan conquered in the Pancratium, and Crauxidas the Thessalian in the horse race. Thus we see that in the middle of the seventh century the sacrifice at Olympia was not only visited by men from the cantons of the peninsula, but also from the colonies of the east and west.[2]

As the states belonging to the sacrificial league became more and more numerous, so did the competitive contests increase in number and variety. Originally the only contest was the foot race, and this always remained the most famous of the gymnastic trials of skill. To the simple race of the Stadium was added in the year 724 B.C. the double race (δίαυλος), in which the course had to be traversed both ways. Hypenus the Pisatan was the first victor in the double

[1] The boxing match of the Ionians is mentioned by the singer of Chios; *supra*, p. 171.

[2] The cantons, which are the latest to send victors, are those of the Arcadians. The first Arcadian victor occurs in 572 B.C.; he belonged to the neighbouring Heræa.

race.[1] At the next festival the dolichos, the long course in which the Stadium had to be traversed seven or eight times, was introduced, and the girdle, hitherto worn by the winners, was discontinued (*supra*, p. 38). To these three distinct contests of the racecourse were also added in 708 B.C. the wrestling match and the Pentathlum, *i.e.* the contest of the five exercises. This consisted in leaping, running, hurling the quoit (he who could hurl it to the greatest distance was the victor), throwing the spear at a mark, and wrestling. In the first wrestling match Eurybatus of Sparta was the winner; and in the first Pentathlum, Lampis, also a Spartan.[2] The victor in the Pentathlum must be first in all the five exercises. In the year 688 B.C. a further extension of the games took place by the introduction of the boxing match. Subsequently horse races and the chariot race with four horses were introduced: the first race of four-horsed chariots took place in 680 B.C. Under the common leadership of Elis and Pisa, two-and-twenty years later (648 B.C.), the first horse race occurred; at the same time the Pancratium, *i.e.* the combined wrestling and boxing contest was instituted, and lastly, in the year 632 B.C., the contest of running and wrestling for boys. The victor in the foot race that year was a boy of Elis, and in the wrestling match a boy of Sparta.

A sacrifice of such importance as this, gymnastic exercises and competitive games, which all Hellas assembled to see and share in, could not, in the opinion of the Greeks, have come into existence without a sacred origin, and must have been founded in a remote antiquity. King Phidon of Argos claimed dominion, as we have seen, over all the lands of the Peloponnesus

[1] Pausan. 5, 8, 6.

[2] Pausan. 5, 8, 7.

which his ancestor Heracles had once conquered; he also asserted his right to direct the sacrifice at Olympia, because Heracles had instituted this sacrifice and the games. We have already come to the conclusion that the legend of the descent of the kings of Argos from Heracles emanated from these kings themselves in the first half of the eighth century, if not from Phidon personally. It is possible that Heraclea, a town of the Pisatæ, five miles to the west of the place of sacrifice on the right bank of the Alpheus, may have received its name when Phidon repulsed the Eleans, and restored to the Pisatæ their old domain on the lower Peneus, and that this town was intended to serve as a protection to Olympia against the Eleans. It is also possible that the ancient altar of Heracles to the north of the holy precincts, in the neighbourhood of the Heræum, concerning which Pausanias doubts whether it belonged to the Curetes (*i.e.* Heracles, the god), or to Heracles the hero (it belonged to the latter, as is shown by the steps leading from the west), was then dedicated by King Phidon.[1] That the worship of Heracles was an addition, and not a very early one, to the rites at Olympia, the narrative of Pausanias goes far to prove. Iphitus, he says, persuaded the Eleans to sacrifice to Heracles; until then they had considered Heracles as their enemy.[2] And naturally enough; for the legend of Argos maintained that Heracles had conquered Augeas, king of Elis; and that the Epeans, that is the ancient population of the country subjugated and now inhabited by the Eleans, had then fought under the command of Heracles, against Augeas;[3] it was indeed in memory of his

[1] Pausan. 5, 14, 9. [2] Pausan. 5, 4, 6.
[3] Hecatæus, *Fragm.* 91, 348 M.

victory on that occasion that Heracles had instituted the sacrifice. Moreover, Phidon, in the year 748 B.C., had fought against the Eleans and conquered them in the name of Heracles and in remembrance of this victory. If neither Argos nor the Pisatæ were able to maintain the successes then achieved, the Pisatæ must have worshipped Heracles all the more zealously at Olympia, even after they had again lost the place; and the Eleans must have joined in this worship, when they offered the sacrifice in common with the Pisatæ, at the beginning of the eighth century and onwards. From that time the legend of the institution of the sacrifice and of the games by Heracles became current among the Hellenes; Heracles meanwhile from the days of Phidon being regarded by the knightly aristocracy, which ruled in the conquered cantons of the Peloponnesus, as a type not only of heroic courage, but also of gymnastic labours (*supra*, p. 216). Even before the middle of the seventh century Archilochus of Paros had celebrated Heracles and Iolaus as the warlike conquerors of Augeas, in an Ephymnium which was sung in the procession of the victors at Olympia after they had received their crown.[1] Heracles had a second altar at Olympia to the south-west of the great altar of Zeus, and immediately to the west of the subsequent temple to Zeus, as Parastates, *i.e.* the ally; the interior chamber of this temple itself seems to have been dedicated to Heracles.[2] Hence also the myth of the Tyrian Heracles, *i.e.* of Melkart, was transferred to Olympia. Zeus, it was said, had here disputed with Cronos for the supreme power;[3] and the hill to the north of the Alpheus, beneath which the

[1] *Supra*, p. 174; Archil. *Fragm.* 119 Bergk; Pind. *Olymp.* 9 *init.*
[2] Pausan. 5, 14, 7. [3] Pausan. 5, 7, 10.

sacrifice was held, received the name of the hill of Cronos.

If the Eleans were forced to accommodate themselves to the worship of Heracles when it had once taken root in Olympia, they attempted to deprive the Pisatæ of another of their heroes. According to the legend of the Pisatæ, their ancestor Pisus and their king Pelops had instituted the sacrifice;[1] the latter had a Heroum dedicated to him on the place of sacrifice at Olympia, west of the great altar of Zeus, and south of the ancient wooden temple which the Scilluntians had erected to Hera. In this sanctuary sacrifice was offered to Pelops as a hero. The Pisatæ founded their very just claim to the direction of the sacrifice on their former possession of the sacred place and the institution of the sacrifice by their princes. If, then, Pausanias recounts to us from the tradition of the Eleans (that of the Pisatæ had been lost long before his time) that Oxylus, the founder of the state of Elis, in obedience to the oracle of Delphi, which commanded him to "make the Pelopid joint-founder of his new state," had sent for Agorius, son of Damasias, grandson of Penthilus, and great grandson of Orestes from the Achæan city of Helice,[2] it is easy to detect in this story an attempt to give Elis a share in the rights and claims of Pelops. Pausanias further tells us that the Delphic oracle commanded the Eleans to preserve the bones of Pelops, and when a fisherman of Eretria brought up a large shoulder-blade in his net, it was declared by the oracle to be that of Pelops, which had once been sent to the help of the Greeks before Ilium, but had been lost in the sea on their return. The Eleans now buried it, gave

[1] Phleg. *Fragm.* 1; Pausan. 5, 8, 2. [2] Pausan. 5, 4, 3.

the fisherman a large reward, and appointed his descendants guardians of the bone. Lastly, according to Pausanias, Pelops was honoured by the Eleans as much above all other heroes as Zeus above all other gods. All these traits clearly show the anxiety of the Eleans to make Pelops a hero of their own.[1]

The introduction of the chariot race at the sacrifice of the year 680 B.C. revived the memory of Pelops, and made his name more universally known among the Greeks. If the athletic contests had their founder and patron in the hero Heracles, the equestrian contests must also be provided with a hero as their founder. As the legend of the Pisatæ concerning the institution of the sacrifice was from this time predominant, while the Pisatæ had just then—about 672 or 668 B.C.—successfully asserted their claims to the direction of it,[2] and the Eleans were at last obliged to divide that honour with them, Elis had a strong motive for wishing to stand at least on equal ground with the Pisatæ. From this point we may date the efforts of the Eleans to appropriate Pelops as their own hero; the legend was now invented that a descendant of Pelops had, together with Oxylus, founded the commonwealth of the Ætolians of Elis; now the shoulder-blade of Pelops was discovered, and was most carefully buried by the Eleans. We have seen above that the name of Pelops is wholly unknown to the Homeric poems. Only from the middle of the seventh century and onwards do we find the name of the "island of Pelops" in use (vol. i. p. 89). Only after the introduction of the chariot race at Olympia did the legend arise that Pelops had thereby attained rule in Pisa, having conquered King Œnomaus in a race

[1] [Pausan. 5, 13, 1, 4.]

[2] *Supra*, pp. 246, 247.

of this kind, and in consequence become the husband of Hippodamia, his daughter. The existence of this legend is first betrayed to us by the "Catalogue of Ships" in the *Iliad*,[1] which calls Pelops the driver of horses, and already designates him as the ancestor of the Atridæ. Pelops can hardly have been regarded as such before the first part of the seventh century; his descent from Tantalus was added by the Æolians of Lesbos and Cyme, in order to strengthen their right to the possession of their territory on the coast (vol. i. p. 91), as Phidon and the Dorians had justified their conquests in the Peloponnesus by virtue of the right of Heracles.

As soon as the legend of Pelops' victory in the chariot race had become current, when his name had become known, when he had been made the tribal ancestor of the Atridæ, and the Peloponnesus had been called after him; when, moreover, the Eleans were once more in sole possession of the direction of the sacrifice, their Prytanes annually offered at the altar of Pelops, in the sacred precincts of Olympia, a black ram as an offering to the dead. "At the stream of the Alpheus," says Pindar, "near the most frequented altar, Pelops receives the funeral libations of holy sacrificial blood." In Herodotus Pelops is a Phrygian who so completely overthrew the Greeks, that both land and people were still named after the conqueror. In Isocrates Pelops conquers the whole of the Peloponnesus, as Danaus before him conquered the city of Argos and Cadmus Thebes.[2]

The great festival at Olympia was held at the first full moon after the summer solstice;[3] it recurred at the

[1] [*Il.* 2, 105.]

[2] Herod. 7, 8; 11; Isocrat. *Panath.* 80.

[3] Bœckh, *Mondcyclen*, s. 15.

end of three years, in every fourth year, alternately after forty-nine and fifty months.

The Greek year contained twelve months: six of these months had twenty-nine, and six thirty, days; the whole number of days being 354. During the octennial cycle, as we have seen, this year, which was too short as compared with the course of the sun, was again brought into harmony with the solar year by the intercalation of three months, each consisting of thirty days. On this cycle was also based the return of the Olympic festival; for an intercalary month was inserted in the course of the four years of the Olympic cycle; in the following four years *two* such months were added, and so on alternately. The ancient compact of the participators in the festival provided that during the time it was held Elis should not be attacked, nor her territory injured by the passage of armies through it. After all the states of Peloponnesus had become members of the sacrifice, this truce, the *ἐκεχειρία*, was so extended that during the festival month (*ἱερομηνία*) there was a suspension of arms throughout the entire Peloponnesus. The messengers of the presidents who proclaimed this truce are called by Pindar "Heralds of the seasons; Elean bringers of the peace of Zeus, the Cronid."[1] The peace of the festival itself, and the protection of the embassies and pilgrims to it, had to be guaranteed by the presidents; and after 660 B.C. by Elis and Pisa conjointly. The presidents could exclude and punish with a fine any state which infringed the truce or the usages of the festival. Not only the commonwealth of such a state, but all its members were excluded, no person belonging to it might sacrifice or even appear at Olympia. Individuals, also, who had

[1] *Isthm.* 2, 23.

offended against the sacred law had penalties imposed upon them by the presidents. He who had thus sinned had become forfeit to the god, and must redeem himself. Prisoners whose lives were regarded as forfeited, according to Greek martial law, had to pay two minæ as ransom money, reckoned by the Phidonian standard (72½ thalers, or about £10 : 16s. English); this was also the fine usually imposed at Olympia. In the treaties afterwards concluded by the Eleans with the Arcadian cantons each side was to pay, in case of breaking the agreement, a talent of silver (according to the Phidonian reckoning 2175 thalers, or £326 : 5s. English), which was given to the Olympian Zeus.[1]

The service at the altar of Zeus at Olympia was hereditary in the priestly family of the Iamidæ, whose members could prophesy from the ashes of the sacrificial hearth and the manner in which the thighs of the victims burned. They traced their descent from Apollo himself, the prophetic god, whose son Iamus was their tribal ancestor. When Heracles instituted the sacrifice at Olympia, Iamus had there uttered his first prophecies. This hero had an altar outside the holy precincts. The recent excavations have apparently uncovered it to the westward of them. It can be proved that priests of the family of the Iamidæ were already officiating at Olympia in the year 750 B.C., and therefore no doubt from the very commencement of the common sacrifice.[2] Only the priesthood and the necessary functionaries and servants resided constantly at Olympia near the holy precinct; these were, the chief priest (θεηκόλος), the rest of the priests, the forester (ξυλεύς), with the underlings and wood-carriers, who

[1] *Infra*, Book 5, chap. 4.

[2] Bœckh, Pind. *Explic. ad Olymp.* 6, p. 152; *supra*, p. 40.

had to bring the necessary wood of the white poplar for the altars, the slayers of the victims, and the cooks, who had to provide the entertainment which the presiding authorities prepared for the embassies of the states belonging to the sacrificial league.[1] The priests of Olympia not only officiated at the great festival; they had to perform regular service at a whole series of altars and sacred places in the holy precincts at other times.[2]

This holy precinct, the Altis as it was called, situated at the point where the Cladeus falls into the Alpheus from the north, formed a tolerably regular square, surrounded by a wall, and shaded by plane trees and olives;[3] each side of the square measured a stadium. The north wall extended to the foot of the hill of Cronos. The road from the coast, from the mouth of the Alpheus, led up the river, along its right bank. At Heraclea, probably, this road was joined by the road from the city of Elis. Southward of the Altis it crossed the Cladeus; from this road was the entrance to the Altis, on the south. To the left of the entrance gate stood the olive tree from which the victors' garlands were cut; to the left also, north-west of the Altis, was the temple of Pelops, surrounded by a separate wall; and to the north-east, opposite to this, stood the great altar of the Olympian Zeus. The substructure, which was of an elliptical form, and about 60 paces in circuit, was over 20 feet in height; steps led up to it. In the centre of the substructure there rose an altar, on the surface of which the victims were slain; from the manner in which the thighs, bones, and fat burned "the seers" (the

[1] Pausan. 5, 15, 10. [2] Pausan. 5, 14, 5.
[3] Pind. *Olymp.* 8, 11.

Iamidæ), as Pindar says, "discerned the counsel of bright-lightening Zeus." Opposite the great altar, on the east wall of the Altis, there was a high platform from which the embassies to the festival, and all to whom the right of proedria belonged, surveyed the sacrifice. The ashes of the sacrificial fire, and of the consumed portions of the offerings, raised the altar upon the substructure from year to year, and from festival to festival. On the hill of Cronos, in the north-west corner of the Altis, to the north of the temple of Pelops, stood the temple of Hera, which the Scilluntians had erected to that goddess: it was a simple building, and the roof was supported by wooden pillars. Outside the wall that surrounded it, at the north-east corner, was the course for the runners, wrestlers, boxers, athletes of the Pentathlum, and pûgilists. This course was carried along the base of the hill of Cronos. After the introduction of the chariot race, the hippodrome was added to the Stadium to the south and east. Towards the south, raised like a mole above the bed of the Alpheus, four times as long, and at least four times as broad as the Stadium, was the chariot course; this had to be traversed twelve times, beginning at the west in order finally to attain the winning post at the east, for which, in after times, a statue of Hippodamia, the daughter of Œnomaus, was substituted.

As soon as the truce and the celebration of the sacrifice had been announced by the messengers of the presiding body of Eleans and Pisatæ, the sacrificial embassies of the Peloponnesus flocked thither from all sides; those of the northern cantons generally came over the isthmus; embassies and pilgrims from the islands of the Ægean Sea and the coast of Asia landed in the Bay of Cenchreæ; those from Lower Italy and

Sicily at the mouth of the Alpheus. The various cantons and states vied with each other in the magnificent equipment of their official representatives, of the ἀρχιθέωρος or leader and the θεωροί who accompanied him; and in providing splendid tents, valuable sacrificial implements, victims without blemish for sacrifice: these functionaries not only had to take part in the great sacrifice in the name of their state, but had also to offer special sacrifices at Olympia for their homes. Wealthy men were chosen for this office, who supplied out of their own means whatever was omitted by the state. The power of a city or commonwealth was measured by the splendour of its embassy to the festival.[1] The competitors for the prizes and members of the league encamped under tents or in the open air (the festival was held in July, the hottest time of the year) on the hill of Cronos and the height adjoining it, or to the south of the racecourse in the plain of the Alpheus. The sacrifices and contests could not be held in one day; for the latter were greatly extended and multiplied, even before the middle of the seventh century, and subsequently became still more numerous; the festival was ultimately prolonged to five days.[2]

The competitors and the owners of the horses about to enter the race had to announce themselves, before the commencement of the games, to the presiding authorities, the two judges of the contests. No one was admitted who was not of Hellenic and free descent and in full possession of his civic rights; no one who was guilty of any crime against the gods, or stained with blood; no one on whom rested the curse of an unexpiated offence inherited from his ancestors,

[1] Thucyd. 6, 16, 17. [2] Pind. *Olymp.* 5, 6.

against the sacred law.[1] The competitors who had undergone the scrutiny of the two judges upon these points were conducted along the Stadium, which was surrounded by the spectators standing on the hill of Cronos. The herald called out the name and country of each competitor, and inquired whether any objection was raised to his admission on the ground of non-Hellenic or slavish birth, evil repute, or sin against the gods.[2] If so, the judge decided accordingly, on the spot. Only then could the number of the competitors be fixed. The judges led them to the altar of Zeus Horkios, the guardian and avenger of oaths, which was situated to the south of the Altis, and in later times within or in front of the house of the judges afterwards built at this spot. Here they had to swear in presence of their kindred, if any were present, to make use of no unworthy artifice in the contest, and not to bribe their rivals.[3] Then followed the arrangement by lot of pairs for the wrestling matches, and of groups for the races and the Pentathlum. The competitors drew the lots from the "sacred urn of the gods:" .the same letters on the lots drawn determined pairs and groups. The winner of each pair in the wrestling and boxing matches and in the Pancratium had to oppose each of the winners of the other pairs in turn; and to go through the boxing match and the combined boxing and wrestling match; the victor out of each group of runners and each group of pentathletes had to vanquish the winners of the other groups in turn. He alone whose strength was sufficient to overcome all the victors bore away the olive wreath. As soon as the lots had been drawn, the herald cried: "The conflict begins! set

[1] Herod. 5, 22; Æschin. *c. Timarch.* 138.
[2] Plato, *Laws*, 833.
[3] Pausan. 5, 21, 2-6.

yourselves to decide the contest, Zeus will grant the victory."[1] The two judges sat surrounded by scourge bearers, on an elevated seat on the upper semicircle, *i.e.* at the goal, to see that there was no unfairness, and to proclaim the victor. The teams of the charioteers were led, like the pugilists, along the course; the starting-points of the chariots were also decided by lot. In the Hippodrome likewise the judges sat at the end of the course.[2] Notwithstanding the heat of the July sun, the dense crowd of spectators followed the games, which began early in the morning and ended only at sunset, with lively anxiety, their eyes hung upon every movement of the combatants, on every turn of the conflict; their interest grew warmer in the struggle of conquerors with conquerors; and in the last decisive race, the final struggle, the various reverses of fortune among the charioteers, the excitement became intense. If a man's adversary in wrestling, boxing, or the Pancratium, was left dead upon the course, his wreath of victory was forfeited. The winner of the chariot race was not the man who drove the chariot, but the possessor of the horses. After the judges had given sentence, the herald proclaimed the names of the victors and their native city. The head of the victor was then encircled with a fillet, to which the judges in sight of the whole assembly attached the wreath. Sprays of the special olive tree were cut with a golden knife for these wreaths, by a boy chosen for the service, whose parents must be still alive. "From Pisa," says Pindar, "come god-given songs, to the mortal, upon whose hair and on whose brow, fulfilling the ancient sentence, the Ætolian man, the

[1] E. M. E. Meier, *Olymp. Spiele, Encycl. Ersch und Gruber*, p. 313.
[2] Pausan. 6, 13, 4; 6, 20, 10 ff.

faultless Hellanodices, lays the gray glory of the olive branch, which once Amphitryon's son brought from the shady sources of the Danube, the fairest memorial of the contests at Olympia."[1] Though the prize in the foot race, the victory in the most ancient and honourable of the gymnastic contests was always the most highly esteemed, and though the festivals were always designated by the name of the conqueror in that race, among the nobles of all the cantons of Hellas, it was considered the most glorious distinction to have won the victory at Olympia with the four-horsed chariot. The thank-offering for their victory was brought by the wreathed conquerors, accompanied by their kinsfolk and friends, by the theori of their state, and by all their countrymen, to the hill of Cronos. From the procession of the victor's compatriots there rose a song composed in his honour, or those verses which Archilochus had made in praise of the victorious Heracles, returning from the conflict with Augeas, and to which was now appended the name of the Olympian victor, with the words: "Hail to thee in the prize of victory." "When evening comes and the clear light of the beautiful Selene appears," says Pindar, "the holy city resounds with songs of praise at joyful feasts."[2] The judges feasted the theori, and the different nationalities entertained their victors with banqueting and rejoicing beneath the tents of their theori.[3] The games were followed by the great sacrifice—the hecatomb to Zeus was offered at the high altar of the Altis; and a great banquet for all the theori and all the conquerors was connected with that offering.[4]

1 *Olymp.* 3, 10 *sqq.*
2 Pind. *Olymp.* 9, 1 *sqq.*; 11, 90-93.
3 Plut. *Alcib.* 12.
4 Krause, *Olympia*, pp. 83-97.

The olive wreath of Olympia was looked upon by the Greeks as the fairest possession to which a mortal could attain. On his return to his country the winner of it was received with high honours. Every commonwealth regarded itself as having conquered and gained the prize in the person of its victor-citizen. He was brought forth in a festal procession, amidst the singing of a carefully practised song of victory (some processional songs of this kind have been preserved among the compositions of Pindar),[1] and conducted to the temple of the tutelary deity of the city. To this deity a thank-offering was presented for the victory, or rather for the victor, who usually deposited and dedicated his wreath in the temple. The conquerors at Olympia had also permanent honours and privileges assigned them—the proedria at public festivals; in some places meals at the hearth of the state, that is, at the public expense; freedom from public burdens; and among the Spartans a place of honour in the neighbourhood of the king when a battle was to be fought.[2] The lot of the Olympic victor was afterwards extolled as divine among the Hellenes. Plato, in order to express the highest stage of satisfaction in regard to the members of his ideal state, says: "they will lead a life more blessed than that which falls to the lot of the Olympic victors."[3]

Out of the offering of the Pisatæ and Eleans, in the plain of the Alpheus, in which, in the first instance, the Achæans, the Caucones of Scillus, and the Messenians had obtained a share, there grew up in the course of a hundred and twenty years a general sacrifice, in which the whole Hellenic people participated. Its importance was all the greater because Greek

[1] *e.g. Nem.* 2 to Timodemus of Acharnæ.
[2] Plut. *Lycurg.* 22. [3] *Rep.* 465 D.

colonisation had meantime become greatly extended, and the members of the Hellenic race were separated by considerable distances. Here were to be found all the cantons and cities of the peninsula, all the colonies of the east and west; Greeks from the coasts of Thrace, from the Hellespont, from the Bosphorus as far as Trapezus, from the shores and islands of the Ægean Sea, from Crete and Rhodes, from Croton and Tarentum, from Syracuse and the banks of the Himera, in order to present in common a great sacrifice to the god of heaven, the supreme disposer of their destiny. This festival therefore became an assembly of all Hellenic states, and of the Hellenic people; and the holy place at Olympia, a capital of Hellas, which every fourth year was built with the tents of the festival embassies and pilgrims, and as often broken up.

The assemblage of all the cantons at the Olympic festival must necessarily have been stimulating to trade and commerce. With the sacrifice there was also held a great fair. All the sounds of the various Hellenic dialects were heard one with another, friends and hosts exchanged greetings, old connections were renewed, and new ones formed, eminent men of the cantons and colonies enjoyed personal intercourse. With surprise and delight the Hellenic people must have realised the number of tribes and cities that belonged to them; they must have been astonished at the prosperity of the Greek colonies beyond sea, their foreign slaves, their rich possessions, far exceeding those of the mother country. Thus these assemblies, which had originated in the religious impulse of the Hellenes to worship together at one altar of peculiar sanctity, strengthened not only the consciousness of a common worship of the gods, but also the feeling of

national community. Here again religious and political elements produced by their joint action great results. The sight of these men from all the territories of Hellas, of these competitors from all districts, who in the presence of their highest god, and of the whole Hellenic people, measured their powers against each other, and strove for the prize of manly strength and skill, aroused the national pride of the Hellenes. At Olympia they learned to look with self-conscious reliance on their fatherland and people, and to extol the favour of the gods, who had bestowed upon them such extensive lands and such noble citizens.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE POETRY AND LEGENDS OF THE HELLENES.

SINCE the irruption of the Thessalians into the basin of the Peneus, and of the Ætolians and Dorians into the Peloponnesus, the Greeks had extended their dominion far beyond the peninsula. When the disturbances of the conquests had subsided, and the islands of the Ægean and the coasts of Asia Minor had been colonised, when the cantons of the peninsula, under their new or old masters, and the settlements in the islands and on the opposite shore of the sea were at peace, there immediately followed a fresh succession of colonies and settlements. Without compulsion or pressure from their neighbours, with a power and rapidity of expansion, such as no other people has ever attained, the Greeks, since the beginning of the eighth century, had founded cities on the shores of the Black Sea, covered the promontories of the Thracian coast with their settlements, conquered Sicily as far as its western shore, and built towns upon the western portion of Lower Italy around the wide semicircle of the Gulf of Tarentum. Egypt had been thrown open to them about the middle of the seventh century; here also they speedily established fixed settlements; Hellenic navigation reached the northern shores of the Pontus, the mouths of the Po, the coasts of the Tyrrhenians and Iberians, and the shores of Tartessus. It seemed

that even in the west of the Mediterranean the Greeks were to contest the advantages of commerce with the Phœnicians.

In this period of energy and expansion the commonwealths and cities, having each a special and individual character, were everywhere dependent on their inherent strength, and preserved each its own separate impress. Under these circumstances the bonds of union which now, over and above the sacrificial leagues of this or that group of states, connected together all the cantons of the Greeks by means of the temple of Delphi, the extended league of the Amphictyons and the periodical gatherings around the altar of Zeus at Olympia, could do little more than heighten and strengthen in an efficient manner the feeling of national interdependence and community, based upon a common religion and language. But the Hellenic people, besides their language and their religion, besides the temple of Delphi and the assemblies at Olympia, had another possession, in which its various tribes and states had no less a share. This was poetry, the expression and epitome of the whole spiritual life of the nation.

Heroic poetry had superseded the ancient hymn, the hieratic song, and had found in the Homeric poems the brilliant consummation of long poetic labours. The impression produced by these poems was so powerful, the tone, the forms, and turns of the language were so marked, that it was inevitable there should be attempts to compose in the same manner, and to perpetuate other deeds of antiquity in songs of this kind. We have already seen at how early a period the families and schools of the singers, in whose hands the Homeric songs were chiefly found, tried to

enlarge the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as transmitted to them, how the *Iliad* was added to about 800 B.C., and the *Odyssey* in the last third of the eighth century, and how both poems in the hands of the rhapsodists received perceptible interpolations down to the last third of the seventh century. Other poets began to carry the war against Ilium beyond the *Iliad*, down to its termination in the taking of the city. Arctinus of Miletus, the son of Teles, undertook to continue the *Iliad* from the exact point where it left off at the burial of Hector. He sang of the arrival of the Amazons; of the conflict of Achilles and Penthesilea, in which Penthesilea was slain; of the insults of Thersites to Achilles, who kills him in his ungovernable anger; of the purification of Achilles from this murder by Odysseus in Lesbos. Then followed the conquest of Memnon by Achilles, and the entrance of Achilles into Ilium. Here the hero falls, through the arrow of Paris; Ajax and Odysseus rescue the body, and Thetis transports her son out of the flames of the funeral pyre to the island of Leuce. In a second poem Arctinus sang of the destruction of Ilium, the death of Priam, and the offering of Polyxena on the grave of Achilles. Dionysius of Halicarnassus calls Arctinus the "most ancient poet whom we know;"[1] he was named the pupil of Homer; Artemon of Clazomenæ places him in the ninth Olympiad, *i.e.* in the year 744 B.C.;[2] Eusebius and Jerome assign his most flourishing period to the first Olympiad.[3] Arctinus can hardly have sung before the middle of the eighth century; the Milesians, whose voyages into the Black Sea only began after the year 800 B.C., who founded

[1] *Antiq.* 1, 68, 69. [2] Suidas, Ἀρκτῖνος.
[3] *Chron.* pp. 78, 79 Sch. (vol. 2).

Trapezus and Cyzicus in 756 B.C. and 755 B.C., can scarcely have discovered the island of Leuce on the northern shore of the Pontus before the year 750 B.C. (*supra*, p. 193). At a later period, probably in the middle of the following century, Lesches of Lesbos composed the so-called *Little Iliad*, a poem which dealt with the fall of Ilium more in detail, and introduced some new features into it.[1] In the second half of this century also the *Cypria*, beginning very far back, narrated the causes of the strife at Ilium. Aphrodite, the goddess of Cyprus, is the central point of interest. It is the strife of the goddesses for the prize of beauty, the gratitude of Aphrodite for the award of the apple, the pomegranate of Ashera, assigned to her by Paris, the infatuation of Helen for Paris, which this poem relates; then follow the assembling of the army, the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis, and her transference to Tauris; the poem ends with what forms the introduction to the *Iliad*—the rise of the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon.[2] Lastly, the legends of the return of the heroes were collected in a large poem, the *Nosti*, probably in the last third of the seventh century. The author of the *Cypria* is said by some to have been Stasinus of Cyprus, by others Hegesinus (*supra*, p. 110); Hegias of Troezen is named as the poet of the *Nosti*.[3]

The poets, however, did not occupy themselves

[1] Euseb. *Chron. Olymp.* 31, 1 = 656 B.C.; Phot. *Bibl. Cod.* 239; Aristoph. *Lysist.* 155; *Eq.* 1056, and the *Scholia; supra*, vol. i. p. 135, note 2. On the chest of Cypselus, the meeting of Menelaus and Helen was represented according to the version of Lesches; Pausan. 5, 18, 3.

[2] The *Eoæ* (Hesiod, *Fragm.* 105 Lehrs.) mention the carrying off of Iphigenia, and the judgment of Paris, as we have seen, was depicted on the chest of Cypselus; the *Cypria*, therefore, must have been composed before 600 B.C.; *supra*, p. 110.

[3] Phot. *Bibl.* 239; Pausan. 1, 2, 1; *Schol.* Eurip. *Troad.* 14.

exclusively with the circle of legends relating to the Trojan war. Eumelus of Corinth, who accompanied Archias at the founding of Syracuse (*supra*, p. 40), sang, soon after Arctinus, of the fortunes of Corinth, his native city, of Helius, the first ruler, of his sons, Aloeus and Æetes, who went to Colchis, of Bunus and Epopeus, of the rule of Jason and Medea at Corinth, and their successors Sisyphus and Glaucus (vol. i. p. 99). The legends of Thebes, the expedition of Adrastus and Amphiaraus against Thebes (vol. i. p. 97) are the theme of the *Thebais;* the history of Œdipus is related in the *Œdipodea;* the battle of the sons of the fallen hero, and the fate of Alcmæon, the son of Amphiaraus, are celebrated in the poem of the *Epigoni*.

The legends of Heracles also received epic treatment. The poem of the taking of Œchalia, situated in Messenia (*supra*, p. 58), or Eubœa, or perhaps in Thessaly,[1] tells the story of Eurytus, king of Œchalia, the best archer of his time, and laments over his sufferings and those of his daughter, "the fair-haired Iole."[2] Eurytus had promised Iole to the man who could make the best shot, and Heracles was the conqueror; but Eurytus refuses the prize. Heracles takes Œchalia, slays Eurytus and his two sons, and carries off Iole as a prisoner. Since the legend, as known to the tragic poets, makes the jealousy of Deianeira against Iole immediately after occasion the death of the hero in the flames of the pyre on Mount Œta, it is probable that the poem concluded with this event. It is ascribed to Creophylus of Samos.[3] The whole circle of the legends of Heracles, or rather of the myth of Melkart, was dealt with by Pisander of Camirus, in Rhodes,

[1] *Il.* 2, 730; Hecatæus ap. Pausan. 4, 2, 3; Strabo, p. 438.
[2] Strabo, p. 638. [3] Strabo, *loc. cit.*

about the middle of the seventh century.[1] Surrounded in his native city by the remains of Phœnician worship (*supra*, p. 110), Pisander, in his *Heraclea*, sang of the twelve labours of Heracles, corresponding to the twelve signs of the zodiac, which oppose themselves to the course of the sun, and which Melkart has to overcome. He represents him as conquering the wild lion, the burning heat, and pursuing the hind of Artemis, *i.e.* Astarte, the moon-goddess; warm springs are created for his refreshment. The hero wanders round the coasts of the Mediterranean, overcomes Antæus, and arrives at the sources of the Ister; he floats through the ocean in the goblet of the sun; finally, Heracles has to burn himself, as Baal-Melkart did, in order to arise in renewed youth from the flames.[2]

Thus strongly and copiously the stream of epic poetry flowed on among the Greeks from the middle of the eighth century until after the middle of the seventh. But there was wanting to the followers and imitators of the Homeric poems something more than the comprehensive glance of genius displayed in those poems. There was wanting, for the most part, the previous treatment of the same materials in heroic song, *i.e.* the work which heroic song had done for the Trojan war before the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. There was also wanting the lively realisation of the conflicts and voyages of antiquity, such as the singers of the ancient *Iliad* and *Odyssey* possessed in the battles and voyages of their own times, going on under their very eyes. The introduction to the *Cypria* tells us that Zeus, seeing the earth too thickly populated, resolved to diminish, by a long and destructive war,

[1] Suidas, Πείσανδρος, about *Olymp.* 33 = 648 B.C.
[2] Pisandr. *Fragm.* 3 5, 6, 7; Dübner.

the human burden it had to bear; and to this end begot Helen with the goddess Nemesis.[1] When the war was in progress, he found that as carried on by the Achæans, who drove away the flocks and herds, and destroyed the small towns, it would not sweep off people enough; and, therefore, to swell the numbers of the dead, he stirred up the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon.[2] In reading this story, we scarcely need to be reminded of the gulf which is revealed between reflections of such a kind, and the point of view of the Homeric poems. Aristotle says: "Epic, like dramatic poetry, must group the myths round an action which has beginning, middle, and end, and leads to a definite result. Hence poetry differs from history, for history relates events which happened at a certain time, to one person or many, without any necessary connection existing between them. One thing succeeds another in the order of time, without forming a complete whole. The majority of the poets write in this way; but herein Homer, as compared with the others, appears divine. He has not undertaken to sing the whole war, although it has a beginning, middle, and end; the subject would have been too large, and not easily kept in view, or, if compressed, would have become confused from variety and change. He, therefore, selected a portion, and broke it up with many episodes. In the *Odyssey* he did not relate all that happened to Odysseus, nor anything which was alien to the subject; he kept rather to one connected action.[3] Other poets, like the author of the *Cypria* and the *Little Iliad* (*supra*, p. 271), sing of one event, occurring at a particular time, but consisting of many portions.

[1] Cypr. *Fragm.* 1, 3. [2] Phot. *Bibl. Cod.* 239.
[3] Aristot. *Poet.* cc. 7, 8, 23 = 1450 *b*, 1451 *a*, 1459 *b*.

From the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* only one tragedy has been taken, or at the most two; from the *Cypria* many; from the *Little Iliad* more than eight have been made: namely, the Contention for the arms, Philoctetes, Neoptolemus, Eurypylus, the Visit of the Beggars, the Lacænæ, the Destruction of Ilium, the Departure, Sinon, the Trojan Women."[1]

Shortly before the time that Arctinus of Miletus undertook to compose a continuation of the *Iliad*, a man whose family originally came from the home of heroic songs, the Achæan cities in Asia, abandoned the glorious deeds of antiquity in order to impart instruction to his brother in epic measures, and to provide him with moral and practical rules of life (vol. i. p. 482 *sqq.*). Epic verse in its equal and continuous breadth and flow was little adapted to the tone of earnest admonition and exhortation. The Ionians discovered a new measure better fitted for such purposes—a measure which admitted of a distinct conclusion, if necessary, to each individual thought. This was the Pentameter alternating with the Hexameter; a form in which the poet could express his warnings, exhortations, and counsels either in a simpler or a more impressive tone, and easily break off from them to give utterance to his own feelings. In this measure, at the end of the eighth and beginning of the seventh century, Callinus of Ephesus exhorted his countrymen to fight and to die for their native city; in the first half of the seventh century, Asius of Samos described the splendour of his compatriots, and derided the impudent self-assurance which prompted them to sit down at a feast uninvited;[2] while about the same period, Archilochus of Paros consoled Pericles for the

[1] Aristot. *Poet.* 23 = 1459 *b*.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 195, 207; Athenæus, p. 125.

misfortunes of war and the sea (p. 177). But the quiet and serious tone of the elegiac measure would not have lent itself to express the passionate feelings which arose in Archilochus from the circumstances of his own life, the opposition which he experienced, and the reverses which fell upon him; still less would it have been a fitting vehicle for the short and sharp stings of his anger. He therefore established the iambic, beside the elegiac verse.

Although the heroic song and its imposing majesty in the Homeric *Epos* had superseded the hieratic hymn, and ejected it from the first rank, the hymn still lived on in religious worship, side by side with the *Epos*. The influence which the heroic song must have had upon hieratic poetry, developed the hymn from the mere invocation and mention of the deeds of the gods to detailed descriptions of them: thus it fell into the tone of narration. We know that hymn to Apollo of Delos, which the blind singer of Chios, towards the end of the eighth century, sang at the spring sacrifice held by the Ionians from both sides of the sea, to the god whose bright light had now returned to them. A hymn of the same kind to Demeter of Eleusis, sung by an Attic poet about the middle of the seventh century, has also been preserved; and a third to Apollo, the composition of which probably dates from the last third of the seventh century.[1] The hymn of the Attic singer to Demeter concludes in the ancient traditional manner, reminding us of the hymns of the Veda, with an invocation of the goddess that she may impart the desired support and sustenance to the singer, in return for the praise he has bestowed upon her; then will he exalt her in other songs.[2]

[1] *Supra*, p. 170, note 2. [2] Book 4, chap. 9.

If with the fall of the monarchy, the direct interest in the deeds and adventures of the ancestors of the royal families gradually and necessarily declined, the new arrangement of the commonwealth laid important duties upon the nobility. We have seen that these were regarded very seriously by that body, the members of which strove to become brave, good, and noble. Powerfully affected by this tendency, and by the idea of the nature of the gods, poetry also took a deeper view of the action of these divine beings, while the sacramental side of religion had a fixed point of support in Delphi. In place of the narrative hymn, so insufficient for worship which demands a concentrated expression of feeling, invocations, prayers, and songs of praise for the choir leaders and the general community were introduced. With the deeper conception of the gods, with the longing for elevation of the heart and for union with the divine will, the ancient hymn, namely, the invocation, again came into vogue in a new form, as opposed to the narrative hymn, the simple exposition of the deeds of the gods. In full-toned solemn measures, Terpander of Lesbos sang his hymns at Delphi, and at the Carnea of Sparta, about the first half of the seventh century and subsequently. In a livelier and more emotional strain, Archilochus celebrated Dionysus and Core; he also sang the Lesbian Pæan in the iambic tetrameter, and invocations to Hephæstus. Together with the new hymn the choral song was employed; this was sung by youths and maidens, men and elders in the procession to the altar, while the sacrifice was burning, during the dances about the altar, and the libations. Eumelus already about the middle of the eighth century composed choir songs of this kind, the hymn of the blind

singer of Chios praises the choric songs which the maidens of Delos sang to Apollo (*supra*, p. 172). Terpander's new cithara was able to follow the more complicated measures of the hymn, and to accompany the changing strophes in the choric songs. As the measures changed with the strophes, the different acts of the liturgy—invocation, contemplation, and lastly, praise and adoration, could be expressed in a more pregnant and elevating manner. The religious chorale was thenceforth the possession of the Greeks, and continued to be the efficient exponent of their worship.

Another kind of poetry was cultivated in the seventh century by a Bœotian school of singers, who revered as their master, Hesiod of Ascra. Poetry here once more undertook to discharge a sacerdotal duty. According to the ancient Arian conception, as we find it in the Homeric songs, the origin of all things was from the water of heaven. It was another ancient Arian conception that the gods of light had to fight against the gods of darkness. In the Homeric poems this contest had already been decided; they represent it as having preceded the dominion of the spirits of light, and in consequence the dark spirits are banished into gloom beneath the bright earth. To this was added the Phœnician myth of El (Cronos), the god averse from generation, who emasculates Baal-Samin, the god of heaven, and usurps his place; and likewise the myth of the warm sun-god burning up the seeds, of Baal-Moloch, who devours his children; all of which were myths and worships found by the Greeks prevailing among the Phœnicians in Crete. On account of the syncretism of these Semitic and ancient Arian conceptions, Cronos, "the crooked-minded," had already

in the Homeric poems become the father of Zeus. The poets of the Bœotian school carried the blending of those elements a considerable step farther, and formed them into a systematic *Theogony*, which makes the ancient spirits of darkness, combined with Uranos and Cronos of the Phœnician myth, as the race of Titans, *i.e.* as the domination of the unregulated forces, precede the dominion of the spirits of light. The spirits of darkness could only be born of their own strength, out of night and chaos. But the *Theogony* of the Bœotian poets associated with these spirits of darkness other spirits which had previously been regarded as the most beneficent and life-creating powers—Oceanus (the water of heaven), and light-spirits, which were newly formed from particular appellations of the light-god: Hyperion, that is the high-wandering (who is the sun himself); Cœus, that is, no doubt, clearness; and Phœbe, that is brightness. These spirits, says Plutarch, "were first introduced by the *Theogony*."[1] The system required elementary powers at its head, and beings of light, from whom the later gods could originate. In the beginning was Chaos, *i.e.* the abyss, empty space; after Chaos, came Earth, Gæa, and subsequently Tartarus, *i.e.* darkness, the space beneath the earth.[2] Gæa then brings forth heaven, Uranos, of her own strength. Gæa and Uranos together are the parents of the Titans, and finally the Titan Cronos, who emasculates his father Uranos. Round the members of Uranos falling into the sea white foam gathers, from which Aphrodite is born, and is carried by the waves to Cythera and Cyprus.

[1] Plut. *De Plac. Philosoph.* 1, 6.

[2] The Eros who comes after Tartarus does not agree with the context. Moreover, not the smallest use is made of this divinity, except that he is once said to accompany Aphrodite; v. 201.

Ashera, the goddess of the Syrians, is born from water and moisture, and the waves transport her to the places whence this worship came to the Greeks. Then Cronos devours the children which Rhea, the Titaness, bears to him, and there follow the saving of Zeus (with Homer the eldest, in the *Theogony*, the youngest, of the sons of Cronos), the overthrow of Cronos, the conflict of the gods of Olympus with the Titans, and the fall of the latter. The battle of the gods and Titans had been sung in a separate poem, before the time of the Bœotian poets, by Eumelus of Corinth, or Arctinus of Miletus:[1] in the conception of it in the *Theogony* many ancient features belonging to the Arian presentations of the combat between the light and dark spirits are clearly apparent (vol. i. p. 165).

After the victory over the Titans, the Cronidæ transfer the dominion to Zeus, and Zeus apportions to his brothers the spheres which they have to rule.[2] Then follows the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus; side by side with which the old view of the myths of the birth of Athena, *i.e.* of the spirit of the heavenly water-spring, from the summit of the mount of heaven, is still perceptible (vol. i. pp. 171, 172). As a counterpart to the birth of Pallas from Zeus alone, the *Theogony* represents Hera as bringing forth Hephæstus by her sole power; that is the god of heaven produced the heavenly water, and the goddess of heaven the heavenly fire.[3]

The poets of the Bœotian school added to the

[1] Athenæus, pp. 22, 277. [2] *Theogony*, 881 *sqq.*

[3] Instead of the Hephæstus of the *Theogony*, the second later portion of the hymn to Apollo represents Hera as bringing forth, as a counterpart to Athena, Typhon, a terrible monster (304-354), the dragon that was slain by Apollo at Pytho.

genealogy of the gods the genealogy of the heroes contained in two poems, the *Catalogue of Women*, and the *Eoæ*. The *Theogony* ends with the enumeration of the heroes who sprang from the marriage of a goddess with a mortal man; the *Catalogue of Women* gave the names of the mortal ancestresses of heroic families to whom a god had descended, and related their histories. The meagre fragments which have been preserved show us that there were detailed accounts of Pandora and her descendants, of the wanderings of Io and of her posterity, of the fortunes of Alcmene and Amphitryon. The *Eoæ* named in rapid succession, and so far as we can see with a brief notice, all the women who had been deemed worthy of intercourse with deities (vol. i. p. 126), and mentioned their descendants.

The manifestly revised form in which the *Theogony* has come down to us (the last edition was made by Onomacritus about the middle of the sixth century),[1] makes it extremely difficult to ascertain the original nucleus of this poem, and consequently the date when it was composed. The unassailable proposition that systematic groupings and genealogical surveys are alien to simple periods; that the productive forces in myths and legends are usually dead, before the impulse to take a general view of their contents and constituents is awakened; that a great abundance of forms and myths must exist before the necessity is felt for arranging them in dry succession; all this only helps us so far as to be a warning not to exaggerate the antiquity of the *Theogony*, or to fix its date earlier than that of Eumelus, who as we know wrote an account of the legends and rulers of Corinth. We are

[1] Bergk, *Gr. Litgesch.* 989.

led to the same conclusion by the undeniable syncretism in the *Theogony* of Hellenic and Semitic ideas. There we find simple traits, especially in the introduction, together with abstract ideas and dry enumeration. In the introduction the king—whom the Muses regard with favour at his birth, on whose lips they drop sweet dew that soft words may flow from his mouth—is so highly extolled, and is represented as being so honoured by the people, that we might infer the existence of the monarchy at the time of the composition of the poem, if there were not contrary testimony to the changed forms of the commonwealth farther on, when the Cronidæ, after their victory over the Titans, call upon Zeus to assume the sovereignty. Also in the genealogy of the gods, and the Titanomachia there lie, as already noticed, older traits beside later conceptions. Women in antiquity, as shown in the Homeric poems, occupied an honourable position among the Hellenes, and maintained it in remote mountain cantons, in which old customs were retained, as among the Locrians, even at a later time; on the other hand, the *Theogony* represents the woman created to be the companion of man as the fountain of innumerable ills; a conception which in an interpolated episode of Hesiod's *Works and Days* is expanded, so that Pandora, in the original idea of the Greeks "the all-giving earth,"[1] opens the box from which all the evils that afflict mankind come forth and spread themselves over the world. These are manifestly later conceptions, products of humorous reflection which stand in distinct contradiction to the *Catalogue of Women* and to the *Eoæ*, the purpose of which is to give glory to

[1] *Epigr. Hom.* 7; *Schol.* Aristoph. *Aves.* 971; Hesych. *sub voce.* In the same sense Demeter is called *πανδώτειρα* (vol. i. pp. 191, 192).

the ancestresses of the royal and heroic families who derive the honour of their descent from these ancestresses. In any case the tendency of the *Catalogue* and of the *Eoæ*, which is to prevent the genealogies of the noble families from being lost, points to the time when the aristocracy was in power.

We must therefore content ourselves with deciding that the *Theogony* must have grown up in the school of singers, which owned Hesiod of Ascra as their master, between the middle of the eighth and the middle of the seventh century B.C. On the one hand, these poets sought to compose in the practical and naïve style of the master, and on the other, to bring the myths of the gods and heroes into some connection and order. The old traditions were sometimes simply adopted, and the new placed beside them, and sometimes there was a fusion of both old and new. If the *Theogony* first mentions the fair-flowing Ister and the Phasis, the Nile and the deep whirlpool of the Eridanus, the Ligyes, the Hesperides in the far west,[1] the names of these rivers could not appear in the poem before Ister had been founded by Miletus (656 B.C.), and the mouth of the Phasis had been reached; before Egypt had been opened to the Greeks (650 B.C.), before the ships of the Phocæans had discovered the mouth of the Po, and the Samians the western portion of the Mediterranean (about 630 B.C.). We also find the names of Latinus and the Tyrrhenians first mentioned in the *Theogony*;[2] Latinus, a ruler of the Tyrrhenians, is there called the son of Odysseus and Circe. Knowledge of the western coast of Italy could hardly have existed in Bœotia before the year 650 B.C. The conclusion of the *Catalogue of Women*

[1] Vv. 215, 275, 518, 338-340. [2] 1013 *sqq.*

and of the *Eoæ* must be dated some decades later. The names of the slain suitors of Hippodamia could not have been invented until after the introduction of the chariot race at Olympia (680 B.C.); the appellation of Scythians, for the people to the north of the Pontus, could not have been usual among the Greeks very long before the founding of Olbia (644 B.C.).[1] The abduction of the nymph Cyrene, whom Apollo brought from Mount Pelion to Cyrene,[2] could not have been invented until after the founding of Cyrene (630 B.C.); nor could the voyage of the Argonauts have been carried before that period up the river Phasis into the Oceanus, then out of the Oceanus to land beyond Libya in the Mediterranean.[3] Lastly, the Greeks only became acquainted with the people called the Ligyes[4] when the Phocæans reached the mouths of the Rhone, which occurred at the end of the seventh century. That the *Catalogue of Women* and the *Eoæ* were finished in the last third of the seventh century other circumstances seem to show: the territory of Dodona, and Dodona itself assume a prominent position in these poems, no doubt in consequence of the settlements made by Corinth after the middle of the seventh century, on the coasts of Epirus; and, what is still more significant, the *Catalogue* asserts the descent of the Greek nation from the sons of Hellen—Dorus, Xuthus, and Æolus, a legend referring to the collective

[1] Hesiod, *Fragm.* 132 Lehrs. If we suppose that the name of Scythians came into use through Aristeas of Proconnesus, the date of this must be later than 680 B.C., prior to which Proconnesus cannot have been founded (*supra*, p. 197). Suidas represents Aristeas as a contemporary of Crœsus. Alcman's mention of the Issedones carries us to the end of the seventh century; Steph. Byz. *sub voce*. Hecatæus commonly uses the name of Scythians; *Fragm.* 153-159 M.

[2] Hesiod, *Fragm.* 52, 70 Lehrs.

[3] *Fragm.* 56, 57.

[4] Hesiod ap. Strab. p. 300.

name for the Greeks, which only came into use in the middle of the seventh century.

With the lapse of time, the opposition between the tribes which had penetrated into the peninsula in consequence of the migrations, and those which constituted the ancient population, became less marked. Delphi had become a centre for the Greek cantons, their ecclesiastical chief city; the sacrifice at Olympia from the beginning of the seventh century brought together members of all the Greek commonwealths; and the stream of poetry, flowing more and more abundantly, the products of which spread increasingly into all lands and benefited all the cantons, gave the Greek people a more lively sense of its unity than had been the case heretofore. This new feeling of closer community required an expression; a name was wanted for the interdependence which was felt; and this became more indispensable the farther the colonies spread, and the more various were the countries and races on whose coasts they were planted. We have spoken of the three groups into which the troubles of the migrations had at once divided and collected the Greek people. Side by side with the Ionians and Dorians on the coast of Asia, whose cities bore the names of the tribes which had colonised them, some common name was required for those cities and islands on the north-west coast of Asia Minor, which had been built and colonised by yet earlier exiles from different cantons of the peninsula. As they were of mixed descent, and came from various territories, the inhabitants of these places received the name of Æolians, *i.e.* the varied or mixed. This name was afterwards extended to the inhabitants of those territories in the peninsula, which had neither been conquered by Dorians nor colonised by Ionians.

The unity of the nation was found when Dorians, Ionians, and Æolians sprang each from a tribal ancestor, and a common father and progenitor was assigned to all three of these ancestors.

We have seen above that the name borne by the priests or the inhabitants of Dodona, Selli or Helli, is derived from the designation of the light-god, who was here worshipped, and that the territory of Dodona bore the name of Hellas, while there existed a second territory of that name on the northern declivity of Mount Othrys, in the territory of the Phthiotes. Of the tribes which had risen to power in the basin of the Peneus, in the Peloponnesus, the Thessalians had issued from the east, from the territory of the Thesprotians, to whom the district of Hellas belonged, and the Dorians from the north-west corner of Thessaly, from Hestiæotis; but Hellas lay in the south of Thessaly, near the region between Mounts Œta and Parnassus, which had been colonised by the Dorians after their expulsion by the Thessalians; and Sparta, at the command of the Delphič god, had ever since the end of the ninth century been worshipping Zeus Hellanius and Athena Hellania. Therefore the Dorians of Hellas wished to derive their origin from Hellen, who must have given his name to the district, although this particular district had remained in possession of the old inhabitants, and the old name for the whole Greek people, that of the Achæans, still clung to it. Through the Dorians of Sparta on the one hand, and Delphi on the other, through the sacrificial league of the Amphictyons, in which Dorians, Æolians, and Ionians all had part, the Achæans of Hellas and Phthia, as well as the Dorians from Mount Œta, and the Ionians from Eubœa and

Attica—the name of the Hellenes gradually spread with that of Zeus Hellanius, and Hellen became through the assembly of the Amphictyons not only the father of the Dorians, but also of the Æolians and Ionians.

In the highlands of Mount Parnassus around Delphi, and especially among the Locrians, the ancient Arian legend of Deucalion still survived. Deucalion was the son of Prometheus, the fire-bringing, sacrificing god, and of Pandora, *i.e.* the earth (as we are told in the fragments of the *Eoæ*).[1] The son of the heavenly fire, the first sacrificer, and of Earth, who lives on the mountain of the god of light,[2] Lycorea, the highest summit of Parnassus, must, in the ancient notion of the Greeks, have been the first mortal and the first king, as Yama is the son of the bright one (Vivasvat), with the Arians of the Indus, and Yima is the son of Vivanghat, with the Arians of Iran. With the latter, at the end of the golden age when Yima, the "assembler of men," bore rule, when there was no evil, and the earth voluntarily brought forth fruit, at the end of this period, Yima with his elect was to continue in life. And similarly, according to the *Eoæ*, Zeus gave to Deucalion chosen ones from the earth to be his people (λεκτοὶ ἐκ γαίης). These elect of Mount Parnassus, given by Zeus to Deucalion, are the chosen of Yima on the mount of the gods. After the old meaning of these conceptions had been forgotten, the first generation was said to have been destroyed by a great flood, from which Deucalion alone and his wife Pyrrha escaped, being on the summit of Mount Parnassus. When they descended, they threw behind

[1] *Fragm.* 21 Lehrs; *supra*, p. 282, note.
[2] Marmor Parium, *Ep.* 2, 3.

them "the bones of their mother," *i.e.* stones, and thereby produced a new race.[1] The progenitors of the tribes must have descended from the original ancestor of the Greek people, the first man; Hellen must have been the son of Deucalion. According to the legend of the inhabitants of Mount Parnassus, of the Amphictyons, of Delphi, and of the Locrians, Deucalion, when he had descended from Mount Parnassus, abode in Opus (*i.e.* with the Locrians); Pyrrha bore to Deucalion Hellen, Protogenea, and Pandora. Subsequently Pandora bore to Zeus Græcus, and Protogenea, also to Zeus, Opus; and the Locrian people retained the appellation of "the chosen." Hellen, the son of Deucalion, ruled in Thessaly, and his sons were Dorus, Xuthus, and Æolus.[2] Another version sends Deucalion to Dodona, where he founds the most ancient sanctuary and oracle of the Hellenes.[3] If the name of Hellas, and the designations Græci and Hellenes which clung to Dodona, brought Deucalion thither, the territory of Hellas in Phthiotis brought him or his son Hellen from Parnassus to this latter place. The father of Hellen must have borne rule in Hellas, either in the Hellas of Epirus, or the Hellas of Thessaly. That Hellen reigned in Phthiotis then became a universal assumption. The Parian marble attempts to unite the legend of Deucalion with the Attic legend of the earth-born Cecrops, the two beginnings of Greek life; the rule of Deucalion on Mount Parnassus is here made contemporaneous with that of Cecrops in Attica, and Deucalion is represented as coming, after the flood, to Cranaus, king of Attica:

[1] Pind. *Olymp* 9, 66 *sqq.*; Hellanic. *Fragm.* 15, 16 M; Apollodor. 1, 7, 2.

[2] Hesiod, *Fragm.* 20-25 Lehrs.

[3] *Schol. Il.* 16, 233; *Etymolog. Magn.* Δωδωναῖος.

Hellen the son of Deucalion reigns in Phthiotis, and the people heretofore called Græci are now named Hellenes, while Amphictyon, a second son of Deucalion, reigns in Thermopylæ, founds the community of the Amphictyons, and offers the sacrifice at the "Gates."[1]

"To Hellen," we read in the *Eoæ*, "law-giving kings were born: Dorus and Xuthus and the equestrian warrior Æolus."[2] The reason why Xuthus and not Ion is mentioned in this triad is very plain. The Ionians, with the exception of those of Attica and Eubœa, had been obliged to leave their ancient abodes; and it was well known that the Achæans, on the shore of the Corinthian Gulf, had been driven thither from their former homes, and had in their turn expelled the Ionians thence to Attica. These Achæans and the Ionians were consequently exiles; Xuthus, *i.e.* the expelled, was accordingly assigned to them as their progenitor, two sons were given to him, Ion and Achæus, and these were called the tribal ancestors of the Ionians and Achæans. Thus the three sons of Hellen and the two sons of Xuthus were co-ordinated with the local traditions of the districts.

It has been sufficiently demonstrated above that the collective name of Hellenes, as given to the Greeks, is not that of a newer in contradiction to an older people. The new name emanates from the very district which was notoriously possessed by a race that had occupied it before the migrations, and to which the older collective name, that of the Achæans, still clung. Herodotus, or rather the legend antecedent to him, was obliged to bring the Dorians to Phthiotis, *i.e.* to the district of Hellas, and to represent

[1] *Schol.* Apoll. Rhod. 4, 266; Marmor Par. *Ep.* 2-6.

[2] Hesiod, *Fragm.* 23 Lehrs.

them as having lived there, in order to make them Hellenes; and Thucydides, as we have noticed, says very clearly that the name Hellenes became prevalent, when Hellen and his sons had grown powerful in Phthiotis, and were called in to the help of other tribes; but this name did not come into general use for a long time after (vol. i. p. 21). It was therefore nothing more than a change of name. Archilochus, so far as we know, is the first writer who uses the name Hellenes for the whole Greek people; consequently it must have come into use in the first half of the seventh century;[1] that it was universal before the end of that century is shown by the designation "judges of the Hellenes," which was given to those who presided at the sacrifice of Olympia before the year 580 B.C. (*supra*, p. 249).

The sons of Deucalion, in accordance with their origin, never became living forms. Æolus was identified with the wind-god of the same name, and was therefore made the tribal ancestor of the princes of the seafaring cantons, the father of Athamas of Orchomenus and Iolcus, and of Sisyphus of Corinth; likewise of Salmoneus of Elis, a genealogy which is

[1] Strabo, p. 370. When the use of the name Panhellenes is ascribed to Hesiod in this passage, by Hesiod is meant *The Catalogue of Women*, as Strabo's expression, "in reference to the daughters of Prœtus," gives us to understand; Hesiod, *Frag.m.* 27, 28 Lehrs. Ἑλλὰς ἱερή, in the *Works and Days*, belongs to the forged portion concerning the funeral of Amphidamas. The Panhellenes in the Calendar of the *Works and Days* (578) are of no importance. The *Catalogue of Ships*, which, like the *Catalogue of Women*, dates from the last third of the seventh century, has likewise Πανέλληνες. The expression in the *Odyssey* (1, 344; 4, 726, 816; 15, 80), καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος, was declared by Aristarchus to be un-Homeric; *Schol. Venet. Il.* 9, 395. According to Kirchhoff, the passage (1, 344) is one of the later additions to the poem; and in any case it is the Thessalian Hellas that is meant. Argos and the Thessalian Hellas were the central points of Achæan life.

already recognised in the *Eoæ*,[1] and was subsequently developed and modified in the most confused manner. Dorus is said to have ruled over the Dorians when they lived on Mount Olympus, in Hestiæotis.[2] Xuthus, since he was the banished one, must have been driven out by his two brothers, Æolus and Dorus, after the death of his father Hellen. He fled to Attica, and there assisted Erechtheus in the war against Chalcodon of Eubœa. For this he received Creüsa, the daughter of Erechtheus in marriage, and she bore him Ion and Achæus (vol. i. p. 118). Xuthus then withdrew to the Ægialeis, *i.e.* the Ionians who inhabited the Ægialos. Ion became their king, and the Ægialeis received from him the name of Ionians.[3] Ion assisted his grandfather, Erechtheus, in the war against Eumolpus of Eleusis, and obtained the victory for the Athenians. In consequence of this he became their general, as Herodotus tells us, the Athenians were called Ionians after him, and his four sons were the tribal ancestors of the four Attic tribes.[4] But Achæus, the brother of Ion, regained his father's dominion in Thessaly (the inhabitants of Phthiotis were Achæans); the sons of Achæus, Architeles, and Archander, wandered from Phthiotis to Argos, and took to wife two daughters of Danaus; and as they bore rule in Argos, the inhabitants of that canton and Laconia received the name of Achæans.[5] We can at once perceive how loosely and disconnectedly these interpolations hang together. As the succession of the Attic kings had long been established, as the sons of Hellen had to be fitted into the local legends, and no place could be found for Ion, Ion was

[1] Hesiod, *Fragm.* 23 Lehrs. [2] Herod. 1, 56.
[3] Herod. 7, 94; Pausan. 7, 1, 2; Apollodor. 1, 7, 3.
[4] Herod. 8, 44; 5, 66. [5] Herod. 2, 98; Pausan. 7, 1, 3, 6, 7.

indemnified by being made the son of Apollo and Creüsa, instead of the son of Xuthus and Creüsa. In the grotto of the citadel of Athens Apollo and Creüsa are said to have met. This exaltation of Ion was the easier to effect, as Ion had assisted the Athenians in war, and the Athenians worshipped Apollo Böedromios, *i.e.* the helper of the army hasting to the battle at the war-cry.[1] In this manner the tribal ancestors of the four Attic tribes were made the grandsons of the god, and the family associations of the tribes could invoke Apollo as the god of families, as Apollo Patrous.[2]

[1] Vol. i. pp. 118, 119; Philoch. *Fragm.* 33 M; *Etymolog. Magn.* *βοηδρομεῖν.*

[2] Plat. *Euthyd.* 302; Demosth. *c. Eubul.* pp. 1315, 1319 R.

BOOK IV.

THE TYRANTS AND THE LOWER ORDERS

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL SURVEY.

FROM dispositions and tendencies common to the Greek tribes, and to their kindred in Iran and on the banks of the Indus, the Hellenes had evolved a very different and even opposite view of life and its problems. The Arians in Iran desired to share in the conflict of the spirits of light against those of darkness. The Arians in the land of the Ganges developed a tendency to explain the sensible world as the world of impurity and delusive appearance, and to regard human existence in this world as supremely wretched and miserable. While the Indians, from this point of view, thought that it was impossible to torment the body too severely, to begin soon enough to crush and mortify it, or to extinguish the *Ego* with sufficient care,—while they wished to live only in the world of contemplation, abstraction, and fancy, only for heaven and in heaven; and, as a matter of fact, alternated between more or less merciless forms of asceticism and abandonment to excessive sensual indulgence — the Greeks, to a greater extent than any other people, succeeded in living for the present world, for the noble development of the highest capabilities of body and soul in the individual man, and for the purposes and ends of their commonwealths.

What were the causes which led to such opposite results? It might be suggested as a possible explanation that the Arians in Iran and on the Indus arrived independently, and without the aid of foreign civilisation, at those standpoints which essentially determined their actions and character, while the Greeks, on the contrary, had been affected by many and various influences from without. Here the facts are true, but the conclusion is faulty. The culture of the Greeks in its onward progress was no doubt influenced in important respects by foreign civilisation. It is not the unassisted achievement of such grand results from purely native sources, in self-dependent and self-creative originality, but rather the independent utilisation of the manifold and effective impulses imparted by the culture of the Carians and Phœnicians, the Lydians and Egyptians, and the assimilation of them, which constitutes the greatness of the Hellenic genius. The nature and character, however, of these foreign cultures, though they could impart much to the Greeks, were unable to give them the impulse to that view of life which they adopted, and indeed would be more likely to lead in an opposite direction.

Of all the branches of the Arian family, the Greeks enjoyed the most favourable conditions for healthy development: a territory of moderate extent, of manifold and significant divisions, of fixed and manageable forms; a land of hills in the midst of the sea, with a soil that required labour to be expended upon it, but not in such an amount as to be oppressive. Their peninsula was no less happily situated in regard to the nations in the earliest stages of development than to those in advance of themselves. Mountain ranges, difficult to surmount, barred the entrance from the

north; on the other hand, their position on the west of the Ægean Sea must sooner or later have brought the Greeks into contact with the ancient civilisations of the East, and with the valley of the Nile; while at the same time neither of the great Eastern powers was near enough to exercise a stifling influence on the beginning of Greek culture.

Let us now recall the stages traversed by that culture on the basis of these happy conditions of life, as far as the middle of the seventh century, and consider the standpoint at which the Greeks had then arrived.

Coming originally from the north, the tribes of the Greeks had at first journeyed with their herds through the valleys and mountains of the peninsula, until in the more favourably organised districts of the eastern half agriculture had obtained a footing side by side with pastoral pursuits. The quarrels of the shepherds of the mountains with the peasants of the more productive eastern plains must have advanced the warriors to supreme power in these districts, in place of the old patriarchal authority of the elders of the tribe; and next to the warriors, the singers at the sacrifices enjoyed the highest honour, since they knew how to invoke the bright and friendly gods, the water-bestowing spirits of the sky. Then it happened that the people of the East from the Syrian coasts came to the Greeks, not as conquerors with great armies, but in the guise of mariners and colonising traders. The Phœnicians landed on the shores of the peninsula, from the islands of the Ægean Sea, which they had subjugated. They established their stations in the islands just opposite its coasts—in Cythera, Salamis, Minoa, and Eubœa. Then they advanced to the mainland, and settled on the Gulfs of Laconia and Argolis, at Melite and

Marathon, on the Cadmea, and on the Gulf of Pagasæ. Among the tribes of the Greeks, in whose territories they settled, their cults came into use, side by side with the national worship. Nor did they confine their teaching to religious observances; they likewise became the instructors of the Greeks in the working of clay and bronze, in architecture and mining. If the Phœnician colonists were strong enough to reduce the tribes of the Berbers, Sicels, and Iberians to subjection, the Greeks either were, or became through the teaching and appliances they received from the settlers, sufficiently strong to maintain themselves against the invaders. Such progress had they made in the school of the Phœnicians that under the leadership of brave and warlike princely families the Greek tribes succeeded in overthrowing the strangers on the shores of the Gulf of Argolis, in Attica, and in the basin of the Copaic Lake. After such victories, the princes who gained them were able to display their skill in stately buildings and fortifications—chiefly for protection against the Phœnicians—in sepulchres, and afterwards in bolder navigation and more extensive warlike and plundering expeditions. However violent may have been the subsequent feuds among the cantons, however numerous the piratical and plundering raids by sea and land, in this period the first steps were nevertheless made towards political organisation; and common sacrifices, in which different tribes participated, gave a stimulus and a wider field of operation to peaceful intercourse and commerce.

Progress on this road was rudely interrupted. A shepherd tribe in the north-west of the peninsula, whose pastures had become too circumscribed for its needs, fell upon the more fertile land in the East. This invasion

of the Thessalians led to a far-reaching change of masters and property in the Peloponnesus and on the east coast of Hellas. Much of the technical culture which had been gained was now lost in the long wars which supervened, and a considerable portion of the Hellenic people was forced to seek new abodes beyond the peninsula.

In the interior of Asia the primitive forms of tribal life and the rule of the oldest members of the tribe—either in consequence of the victories of a particular chief, or of national reaction against the oppression of tyrannical neighbours—were followed by the rise of a mighty monarchy which conquered extensive territories, enriched itself by the spoils of war, and soon exercised the same despotic sway over its own race as over those whom it had conquered. Changes such as these, after the expulsion of the Phœnicians, might have occurred likewise among the Greeks, in consequence of the attacks of the Thessalians or Dorians, which substituted conquest for internal quarrels. But in this instance also, it was due not a little to the nature of the country and the formation of the peninsula that the results of such attacks were averted, and that changes similar to those in the East did not take place. There was no dominant region in the peninsula; its mountain chains and narrow valleys afforded strong positions in case of attack, and the walls of the citadels were not easy to conquer with the lance. The successes of the Thessalians, Ætolians, and Dorians, therefore, and of the Arnæans and Achæans, the Dryopes and Minyæ whom they dispossessed, were confined to the conquest of certain lands and districts; and life in the peninsula, even after this new occupation and redistribution of property, preserved its cantonal character.

It was the same with that portion of the Hellenes who, driven out by this invasion, had left the peninsula, and had become the enforced conquerors of the islands of the Ægean, and of the coast of Anatolia. The emigrants did not go forth in a single swarm: the migration, like the conquest, took place in successive detachments. Separate bodies of emigrants, each under a particular leader, gained possession of this or that island of the Ægean, and this or that tract of the shore of Asia. They formed distinct settlements, the groups of which were not even united by the slender bond of common sacrifices. Thus it happened that in these new possessions of the Hellenes the restricted and local character of Greek life was even more marked than in the mother country. Neither in these colonies nor in the peninsula could there have arisen a great despotic, all-embracing kingdom. Though established by a long period of conflicts, monarchy in the mother country was limited to each territory; and in the new colonies, to each city and the surrounding district.

While cantonal life at home was secured to the Greeks, the most important result from the disturbances of the new occupation of the peninsula was the remarkable extension of the Hellenic domain. The Ægean Sea had become a Greek lake. If the Orient had formerly been transported to the coasts of Hellas in the ships of the Phœnicians, it was now the turn of the Greeks to visit it for themselves. The Carians and Phœnicians in the Cyclades were forced to give way to them; they settled in Crete and Rhodes, and even in Cyprus, just opposite the Phœnician coasts. Those elements of culture which were anciently imparted to them by the Phœnicians they found in Crete

and Rhodes in a more developed form; they also came into close contact with the Lydian manner of life. The incitements which they now received through their foreign possessions were stronger and more important than those which they had previously derived from the Phœnician stations on their coasts. They not only practised the cults which they found in the islands, especially in Crete and on the coasts of Asia, but some of these cults reacted in no small degree upon their own religious conceptions. From the Phœnician cities in Crete they borrowed the art of writing; the Phœnician and Lydian systems of weight, measure, and coinage they made their own.

The cantonal form of state always remained the basis of Hellenic development. As of old, in the districts of the mother country, so in the Greek settlements beyond the Ægean the pulsations of self-dependent and individual life were felt at all points. The conflicts for attack or defence, for the seizure or protection of property, required to be separately conducted and concluded by the strength of each small commonwealth. It was everywhere necessary to enter into new relations, and to find new ordinances of life. If individual activity was required in each of the miniature states, it was not wanting. A political life which only embraces a single district, territory, or city, which has to maintain itself by its own strength, and can expect no help from any other source, must arouse the activity of all in a manner quite different from that of a nation whose dominion extends over wide tracts of country. Common dangers and common duties from the commencement of the migrations drew the population of each canton together much more closely than heretofore. More frequently, and for longer periods, the

confederates of the cantons had to seek the protection of walls and fortresses. Dwellings crowded in among the fortifications. On the coasts of Asia it was even less possible than on the peninsula to exist without the protecting circle of walls; and, as we have seen, even for the purposes of attack, it was desirable to have such a protection as a point of support.

The troublous times of the migrations decided not only the course of the political, but also the spiritual development of the Hellenes; and the latter, again, powerfully reacted upon their political life, not only by means of those new elements of culture which the Greeks assimilated in the islands in Crete and on the coasts of Lydia, but also, and even more forcibly, through the new and various problems by which the colonists, especially on the coasts of Anatolia, were confronted. In the period antecedent to the invasion of the northern tribes, the inclination of the Greek spirit to the realm of fancy had been only counterbalanced in some degree by the manifold and definite conditions of agricultural life. Through the newly-awakened impulses of emigration and colonisation this tendency received, in the many and pressing problems of actual life, a counterpoise of an entirely different and far stronger kind. Now the force of reality, the weight of practical things, checked the idealism of the fancy. The demands of the present were imperative, the necessities of the situation irresistible. Everywhere war and strife prevailed. Here strangers had effected an entrance, there a strip of land had been won, or a fortress wall built, on the maintenance of which existence depended. In one direction it was necessary to cultivate, organise, and divide the conquered territory; in another the foe was advancing and must be kept

back. The struggle for hearth and home pervaded all these small commonwealths. The activity and powers of all were in requisition to the utmost. The eyes of men were therefore directed, not upwards to the heavens, but downwards to the earth; not to the contemplation of the gods, but to human actions. This life, with its voyages and surprises, its conflicts and privations, produced a manly, warlike, robust, and energetic race. Each man was thrown upon the resources of his own arm and eye, and on his native strength and courage, by which alone he could cope with the hazards and hardships of war and of the sea. It is easy to see how poetry also might be affected by the joy of these bold deeds and adventures; how the heroic song took the place of the hymn, and secular poetry of religious; how the *Epos* came to idealise the contemporary battles in the deeds of the heroes of ancient times. Preponderance was given to human nature and action in proportion as the gods were transformed after the pattern of kings and heroes, and as fancy and reality attained to equal importance in the Greek mind.

Not the priests, but the singers of the heroic songs and of the *Epos*, created for the Greeks a canon of religion, and gave the most definite shape to the forms of their deities. This canon embraces the supersensible, the divine, and the spiritual, in the form of nature, and in the shape of man. Nature is herein to the Greeks the manifestation, and, in a certain degree, the embodiment of the spiritual world. It is everywhere filled, moved, and peopled by spirits; in the fountains and streams, in the oaks and rocky caverns, on the mountain slopes and in the wooded valleys, these spirits are equally to be found; in the movements

of the sea, and in the phenomena of the firmament, the gods are alike present. In the height and majesty of the clear and of the stormy sky the Greeks saw Zeus; in the mighty beating of the waves they recognised the power of Poseidon; in the raging of the tempest, in the bright blue heaven, they perceived the militant or the victorious Athena; in the pure beaming of light, Apollo, the beholder and avenger of all crime. For not only were the phenomena of nature embodied in these gods, but the Greek also acknowledged in them the guardians of the moral impulse, who keep the family and the community together, maintain peace and justice, and punish iniquity and arrogance.

If the long conflicts of the migrations and settlements had made the monarchy the ruling power in the cantons, the establishment of the new commonwealths increased the strength of the nobles who surrounded the princes. In the conquered cantons of the peninsula, the descendants of the warriors who had subjugated and extended the territory formed a far more numerous ruling class than the landed proprietors of former times, who had lived by arms, shared the meal of the prince, sat in his council, and administered justice at his side. In the cantons, which had defended themselves against the conquest, the number of the families, which from of old had been distinguished in arms and in sacrificial lore, had been increased by fugitive families of noble descent, especially those who in times of necessity and pressure had come forward to defend their native district. In the new colonies the nobility were scarcely less numerous than in the conquered cantons of the peninsula; the descendants of those who had conquered the domain of the city, and had divided, defended, and enlarged the territory, here constituted the ruling class.

The identity of position and of interests which everywhere united the members of this class, together with the very limited extent of each commonwealth, must have had more decided and speedy results here than elsewhere—results which must have emphatically asserted themselves in regard to the princes, so soon as the necessity for closely combining all forces under a definite leader was less pressingly felt. This was the case at the beginning of the eighth century, when the struggles of the conquests and settlements were gradually subsiding, when more peaceful conditions supervened, when the ancient sacrificial federation of the north-eastern tribes was renewed and extended, and a new sacrificial league was formed in the Peloponnesus. The nobility bore arms like the prince; if the prince sacrificed for the commonwealth, among the nobles were many families who possessed the knowledge of ancient sacrifices and ancient sacrificial hymns; if the king was the supreme judge, the nobles were the assessors of his court, or spoke on his behalf. His judgments and theirs had created the existing laws and the traditional institutions. It was on the services of the nobility, in arms, in sacrifices, in worship, in the administration of justice, that the commonwealth depended. In the segregation of Greek life monarchy was without national importance; the relations and duties of their small cantons were so limited and manageable in extent, that a king might easily be dispensed with altogether. The councils of the nobles, the assembling of the confederates, the administration of justice, might take place under other superintendence and direction. When the ruling class regarded itself as the essential and determining factor of the commonwealth, it restricted or overthrew the monarchy, and improved

its own organisation, in order to assume the government instead of the prince. The first state in which the casting vote fell to the representatives or assembly of the ruling class was Sparta. Here it was not peaceful circumstances which led to the change, and the singular institution of the two kings, which at once annihilated and established the monarchy in Sparta; it was the necessity of defence, of stronger military power, which compelled two commonwealths to become one. In Corinth and Thebes the monarchy fell about the middle of the eighth century; in Attica, from about the same time and onwards, the ruling class encroached more and more upon the hereditary kingship, until in about seventy years it had wholly superseded it. In the majority of the cities on the opposite shore of the Ægean Sea, the monarchy disappeared about the same period.

After the nobility had undertaken the government of the cantons and cities, there was a repetition of the times of the migrations and colonies on a more extended scale. A new and important expansion of the Hellenic nation was effected by numberless stations and settlements. Milesian cities arose not only on the northern coast of the Ægean Sea, on the shores of the Thracians (whereby the possession of that sea was assured to the Greeks), but also by the waters of the Black Sea, to the south, the west, and the north. The western Mediterranean afforded the most promising openings; the colonies of the Chalcidians, Corinthians, and Megarians, were planted in Sicily, those of the Achæans in Lower Italy, and about a century after the fall of the monarchy, the Greeks gained access also to the ancient wonderland on the Nile; from their intercourse with which, added to the

incitements and impulses already received from Carians, Phœnicians, and Lydians, new and important results were to accrue to them. Nor had any powerful enemy as yet arisen either in the south or west to menace even the most distant outposts of the Greeks. The plundering raids of the Cimmerians had, however, despoiled the Ionian and Æolian cities; the power of the Lydians had become troublesome, though not oppressive; that of the Medes had only just begun to form itself in the distant east.

While the government of the nobility gave the whole ruling class a direct interest in the weal and woe of the state, and colonisation reiterated the problems which the period of the migrations had brought forward, the harmony, for which Greek life paved the way, between real and ideal worth, between practical sense and lively sensibility, between energetic action and mental excitement, between spirituality and sensuousness, between activity and receptivity, could not fail to be consummated; and these opposite phases mutually completed and pervaded one another. The national character grew up entirely on the basis of this harmony. It is the man capable in body and mind, strong and agile in limb, brave in fight, free from personal greed, zealous for the general good, who is the ideal of life and conduct in the eyes of the nobles. They clearly saw that their privileged position in the community also entailed duties upon them. From the new sphere of duty in which they now found themselves there resulted a more serious view of life, and an increase of ethical demands above the standard proposed in the *Epos;* and with the stricter conception of duty, the notions also about the gods became deeper and purer than those of the Homeric poems. Once

more, it is the poets who give life and expression to this new view by restoring the hymn to its rightful place, side by side with the *Epos*, and through the choric song imparting richer forms to the cultus. The usages of religion as handed down from of old, the ritual of the ancient festivals, the traditional prescripts of purity and expiation, and the influence of the oracles—especially that of Delphi—assisted the more intensive religious feeling, the super-sensible side of religion, to maintain its place in the Greek mind. But the fundamental character remained unchanged. The life of the gods is the life of the Greeks at a higher moral elevation. By this standard man is to measure himself; this ideal he must strive to imitate. He has to order his life according to the moral bias within his breast, which he finds again in the natures of Zeus, Apollo, and Athena. The potential human nature which was ascribed to the gods left no room for any exclusive opposition between the sacred and the terrestrial. There was no difference between the ethics of this religion and those of the state, and moral force was essentially concentrated upon the present life and on the state.

As the Greeks, from this standpoint, saw the gods in nature and in the perfected form and condition of man, so they recognised the state in the community which had its palpable manifestation in the market-place, in the assembly of local confederates, and in festival processions. Beyond these limits it was incomprehensible to them; they could only imagine the state of such an extent that one assembly might include it. In their ethics there was no question either of eradicating the natural man or of degradation in sensual nature. The Greeks were far from being devoid of

sensuous impulses; their whole nature was based upon a robust sensuality, and always so continued; but they felt themselves neither overcome nor oppressed with it. There was in them a happy equipoise of the natural love of enjoyment and of moderation, of sensuous and ideal instincts. Neither the naive humanism of the *Epos* nor the stricter conceptions of the aristocratic period demanded more than that a man should follow the good tendency within him—the instinct of his reason—and that he should live out and unfold this his essential nature in and for itself. The task to be accomplished is the moderating and ennobling of the natural impulses, the attainment of dominion over violent tempers and passions; self-seeking is to be eradicated only so far as one person must recognise the rights of another, and the individual must subordinate himself to the circle of the family and of the commonwealth; must be absorbed in its interests and penetrated with its duties. The possibility of such elevation and devotion was never doubted by the Greeks. Together with this noble capacity of human nature, the human form was also, in their opinion, able and destined to bring the beauty of the soul to its full manifestation. It is the task of the good man to govern his natural self, or rather to perfect it, with the nobility of the higher temper and of virtue. In this nobility his body has a share, and bears indeed the stamp of it, for the body is the visible soul. Man was the object of Greek desire; but it must be the entire man—in the fulness of physical health and capability, in unrestrained dominion over his members and muscles, rejoicing in the abundance of his own life and his own power. Only from this point of view can we explain the extraordinary importance attached

by the aristocracy to all kinds of training and exercises for the body — to the development of the limbs in beauty, agility, muscular strength, and activity; to that systematic gymnastic which from the period of the aristocratic government prevailed among them. The ideal of the "beautiful and good man" after which they strove—the noble mind in a strong and perfectly developed body—was universal; but this universality was again broken because it was not abstract enough; this ideal was not simply that of a beautiful and good man, but must be realised under definite relations in one particular community, in one particular state. The ideal of the good and beautiful man is with the Greeks far more that of the beautiful and good nobleman of Sparta or Athens. The ideal of humanity immediately passes into that of the associate and member of a definite state.

This standpoint of complete individuality at which the Greeks had arrived under the rule of the nobility through the particularity and practical problems of their life, the completion and satisfaction of the natural by the spiritual, the impulse to raise everything natural to the form and nobility of spirit, this harmony of the spiritual and sensual man, this equilibrium of the ideal and natural sides, gives to the life of the Hellenes its character of plastic beauty. As they knew the state only as expressed in the canton, and man only as a member of the community, so they could find the unity of their ecclesiastical life only in one sanctuary, where the will of heaven was directly announced, and could accomplish the unity of their nation only in one definite commonwealth, in a festival assembly, in the celebration of a great sacrifice at the periodical gatherings around the altar of the Olympian Zeus. The spectacle

thus afforded of all the branches and tribes of a people, from the most distant points, hastening together to contend for the prize of strength and activity, is without parallel in history; and this prize was the highest that could fall to the lot of a Hellene.

When this stage had been attained in the middle of the seventh century, it became a question whether the internal force of the Hellenic development would be sufficient to transcend its limitations, and to bring these promising beginnings to a riper issue. The state did not extend beyond the district, nor law beyond the canton; personal protection was restricted to the same boundaries, and freedom to the influence which might be exercised in a privileged corporation. Ethics clung too firmly to their natural basis, and the ideal factors were not strong enough to furnish a counterpoise against it. Could a system of ethics, on such a basis, rise to regard man only as an instrument, the property of the commonwealth in which he was born, as a more or less honourable member of that commonwealth? Would it be possible for the deeper conception of the nature of Deity to gain the ascendency over the individual forms of the gods, and to establish the unity and universality of the divine nature; or was the religious life of the Hellenes to retain the stamp of the old anthropomorphism? The aristocratic commonwealths which governed the cantons and cities had doubtless awakened in the midst of them forces hitherto undreamt of. They were earnestly set upon making their fellow-townsmen manly, pious, well-instructed supporters of the commonwealth; their poetry strove, and not without result, to give expression to the serious demands of moral impulses. It was due to the aristocracy that the Hellenic nation assembled for the

contests of strength and agility. But the nobles alone were the state. The ruling communities rested on only too broad a foundation of subjects who were not merely excluded from active participation in the state, but were also regarded as shut out from all higher pursuits and the noble life; below these were the strata of the serfs of the soil and the slaves. And if even among the country people who tilled the land—the artisans, mariners, merchants, and traders—there did awake the feeling and consciousness of their own importance in the commonwealth, how was it possible for them, completely absorbed as they were by the necessities of life, to advance their claims in the face of the powerful and dignified ruling class, which united in itself the supremacy of arms, of sacrifices, of jurisprudence, and of virtue?

The community of the Hellenic cantons and cities was indeed no longer founded on community of language and religion, and on the common possession of a living spring of poetry, but also on the more lively feeling of interdependence at this time expressed in the myth which derived the Hellenic tribes from one tribal ancestor, and in the common name of Hellenes, now first brought into use. It was founded, likewise, on the new bonds of union which now united the many members of the Hellenic nation, through the widely spread fame of the temple of Delphi, and the Olympic sacrifice at which they all assembled. But the Hellenes could not hope to bring the wealth of their multiform life to full and reciprocal operation, nor to develop their culture farther in sound and healthy channels, unless they could bring their cantons into nearer and closer inter-connection. The power of the states bordering on their colonies on the east was greatly

increasing. How could they oppose a countervailing force to these, or to the rivals of their cities in the west and on the Western Sea, if they were not in a position to unite the forces of their cantons in some more effectual manner? Not only the particularity of the sphere in which Greek life had hitherto moved, and which had taken such strong hold upon it, but still more the individualism which governed the Hellenic point of view, opposed such a union. Their idea of the state obstinately clung to that of the commune.

CHAPTER II.

THE NOBLES AND CITIZENS.

THE fall of the monarchy, at any rate in those cantons which had not been affected by the conquests, and in those where conquerors and conquered amalgamated and became one population, had deprived the lower ranks of the community of a point of support against the upper, against the great landholders, the *gentes* and the nobles. If the protection afforded by the king to the peasants and herdsmen had not been always at hand, and was frequently not available or not very efficient, still an authority had existed which could be invoked when the pressure of the strong upon their weaker neighbours had become too arbitrary and unbearable.

When the nobles took the government into their hands, and became sole masters in the cantons, peasants and herdsmen were forced to conform to the orders, decisions, and claims of the ruling class. The more serious the view which the Greek nobles took of their duties, the more they were convinced that those who lived by the labour of their hands, and were obliged to earn their bread, could never become good and beautiful men, or attain to a noble disposition, the more proud and self-reliant must have been their own attitude. The close and unreserved intercourse between masters and servants, nobles and peasants, pictured in the Homeric

poems, disappeared; the peasants, owing to the sacrifices, the administration of justice, and the necessity of protection, became dependent on the great families; these families began to regard it as unseemly that their sons should marry the daughters of peasants and of the lower orders; the nobleman could now only be descended from the "beautiful and good," whereas, previously, the rank of a man had been sufficient to secure the same rank to his children. Everywhere and at all times, whenever and wherever one class has brought the commonwealth exclusively under its power, it has tried, and will always try, to give the greatest possible security to its position, to make its dependants still more dependent, to pursue its own interests before all others, and at last to seek its own advantage at the expense of the lower ranks.

In the conquered cantons, where the victorious invaders had been able to maintain their supremacy in full force, the ancient population had partly become Periœci, *i.e.* tax-paying subjects under the control of stewards, and were partly degraded into serfs attached to the soil of the nobles or commonwealth, into Penestæ, Gymnesii, or Helots. In the cantons, which had either not been conquered, or where conquerors and conquered had again become one tribe, the lower ranks consisted of the less wealthy possessors of the soil, who could boast neither of ancient descent, sacrificial lore, nor the warlike deeds of their ancestors, and who cultivated their fields in the sweat of their brow; of herdsmen, *i.e.* small cattle-breeders in the mountain districts; of the fishermen on the coasts; of the free hired servants of the peasants and nobles, who, together with the slaves, tilled the lands of their masters, and tended their flocks and herds. Wholly engrossed as

the peasants were with the necessities of life, accustomed to receive judicial awards from the nobles, and to offer sacrifices through their hands to the gods, dependent in a thousand ways in their homes and for their profits upon the ascendency of the great landed proprietors, it seemed that the obedience of the peasants was fully secured. In fact, with the growing numbers of this section of the community, which increased the difficulty of subsistence, the cantons, whose soil favoured the pursuit of agriculture, and where the nobles had risen above the status of a peasant-nobility (in the mountain cantons of Arcadia, and in those of Phocis, Locris, Ætolia, and Acarnania, they always remained such), appeared open to the danger that the whole peasant population would become entirely dependent in their persons and property, as was the case in the conquered cantons, and would sink into mere serfs of the knightly landed proprietors.

There were other means of supporting life, however, besides agriculture and the breeding of cattle. We have seen that manufactures were carried on in Corinth, Attica, and Eubœa. Even in the Homeric poems we find that they were pursued to a considerable extent. And side by side with manufacture there was navigation. When the Greeks had established themselves, not only on the peninsula, but also on the islands and on the east coast of the Ægean Sea, their navigation was greatly extended. That this, even in the first half of the eighth century, was profitable in its results, we see from the instance of Dius of Cyme, the father of Hesiod, who maintained himself in this manner. The works of art in which Lydia and Caria excelled, together with the products and manufactures of the east, which reached the western coasts of Asia, the products of these coasts,

and wine and oil from Lesbos and Samos—all these could be shipped from the Greek maritime cities of Asia Minor, and carried to the peninsula. It was through this commerce, as we have seen above, that Chalcis and Eretria laid the foundation of their greatness. To what proportions it had attained, even in the course of the eighth century, we find from the mint marks of Phocæa and Cyme, the standards of Chalcis and Eretria, the coins and weights and measures of Phidon of Argos.

From the commencement of the rule of the nobility in the cantons, which was also the commencement of active colonisation, from the middle of the eighth century, the Greeks no longer merely practised navigation; they became, in an eminent sense, a maritime nation. At the time when Sinope and Trapezus were founded in the east, Naxos, Catana, and Syracuse in Sicily, and Cyme in Campania, a nautical discovery had already been made, by means of which the Greeks surpassed the Phœnicians, the ancient voyagers of Syria; this was the building of triremes. To what an extent and proficiency must seamanship have attained, what importance naval battles must have assumed, to give rise to the attempt to replace the ancient war vessels by others of a far more powerful kind! When the first triremes were built at Corinth and Samos, about the year 700 B.C., Greek cities already existed on the southern shore of the Black Sea, on the coasts of Thrace, in Corcyra and Sicily; the southern coast of Italy had also been colonised. The products of Greek industry, pottery, implements, and weapons, were advantageously bartered on the coasts of the Thracians, Scythians, Illyrians, Sicilians, and Oscans, for the fruits of the soil, and for the cattle of those

regions. The need of the means of exchange must have given great encouragement and impetus to manufactures in the Greek cities of the peninsula, on the coasts of Asia, and in the newly-founded Asiatic settlements themselves. If the extension of maritime operations opened to the superfluous land population the prospect of a livelihood as sailors, pilots, and oarsmen, the less wealthy nobles, and the more prosperous among the peasants, turned their attention to the equipment and freighting of trading vessels. Navigation and commerce must have become permanent occupations. And the great increase of manufactures must also have given employment to numbers of the country people.

Thus there grew up under the very rule of the aristocracy a powerful rival to itself; a nautical, artisan, commercial class, side by side with the land population. If the protecting walls of the chief place of the canton had previously been sought only in time of need, in case of surprises or hostile landings, the new industrial classes were now settled together in the harbours and centres of trade. Handicrafts, navigation, and commerce, could not exist without one another. In the maritime cantons on the east of the peninsula, and in the cantons on the coasts of the Peloponnesus, there sprang up simultaneously with the burgher class a town population.

In proportion as commerce increased and handicrafts became more elaborate, the views of this town population must have become more extended, and their feeling of independence stronger; and being continually recruited from the superfluous inhabitants of the country, the new class must have acquired importance not only from its numbers, but also from its concentration of abode—its interdependence and

the community of its interests. The contiguity of dwelling in itself sufficed to protect the members of this class from the attacks and oppressions of the ruling lords more effectually than the scattered and isolated peasants. It was the formation and growth of such a class in the maritime cantons which prevented the peasant population from becoming serfs of the soil. New paths were opened to them, so that their superfluous members could gain subsistence and render good service without being obliged to carry on the labours of their fathers. If the peasants in their isolated fields were dependent on their lords, who offered sacrifices for them, were their neighbours, and exercised jurisdiction over them, they now found in the town population a centre for their scattered numbers, and a point of support for their class. In allying themselves with the citizens, the peasants on their side increased the importance of the latter. A common interest united both orders in opposition to the ruling class.

As soon as the mariners and traders attained a wider and more extensive view of life, and the new impressions made on them by foreigners led to reflections and comparisons, they must have felt that their interests were not consulted in the government of the nobles, that the commonwealth gave them no chance of representing those interests, that they had no acquaintance with the laws according to which the nobles decided the rights of property (they must often, no doubt, have lost their hardly-won gains by sentences that seemed unjust), and that these judges awarded punishments and penalties according to a very arbitrary standard. Why should the merchant and the shipowner, they must have inquired, stand so far below the noble? Was not his wealth acquired with greater labour than

that of the nobleman, who gathered in at his ease the produce of his lands and flocks? Were not the toils of navigation more honourable than the gymnastic and military exercises of the nobles? Were the peasants really so inferior to the ancient families that they could only be ruled, and never be heard at all?

In the pride of their ancient and lofty origin and their more honourable blood, in the consciousness of their privileged attitude to the gods, their knightly prowess and their higher aims, the nobles looked down upon the lower classes. These classes knew neither the laws of god nor man, were compelled to inferior labour, and thus condemned to a baser disposition, tormented by cares of maintenance, or desire of gain, or covetousness. Their ignoble bearing was the expression of their ignoble mind; incapable and unpractised in the use of arms, they were in fact only a mass of knaves, of wretches (*κακοί*), and of cravens (*δειλοί*). To maintain their well-won rights, in opposition to the claims of such a class, was regarded by the noble not only as a duty to his ancestors, to himself, and to his children, but also to the gods and to his country. If placed in the ignoble hands of this multitude, under the influence of its base spirit, the commonwealth must lose the favour of the gods and go to destruction.

In the cities of the Æolians and Ionians, on the other side of the Ægean Sea, the attitude of the nobles towards the lower orders was not so rigid and severe as in the cantons of the peninsula. The ruling class even here was composed of the families which had emigrated from their homes; but in a part of the Æolic cities, and of the Ionian also, these had not emigrated from the same canton; while each emigrant, even though he were not of noble birth, if he

had taken part in the conquest of the land whereon the cities were built, received equal rights (the sacrificial functions excepted) with the ancient and aristocratic families. The same position was, no doubt, also given to the immigrants immediately succeeding the first settlers, who assisted in the defence or extension of the conquered territories. If the dependent peasants consisted of the enslaved foreign population, on the other hand the townspeople, from the stimulus given to handicraft by the new conditions of life, the more active navigation, extensive commercial intercourse and the flow of reinforcements from the peninsula, became more numerous and important at an earlier period than in Greece proper. If the claims of the most aspiring members of the citizen class had been diverted through colonisation to the Propontis and the Black Sea, where they naturally attracted all dissatisfied and daring spirits to join them (for such could there attain what they had vainly striven for at home—the position of equally privileged members of the ruling class in the newly-founded or prospective commonwealths), the new colonies reacted upon the increase of trade and commerce in the mother city; and this again promoted the growth and importance of the citizen class at home.

'So far as we can discover, it was in those cities of the Æolians and Ionians which had not diverted the aspiring elements in their midst into other channels by colonisation that the nobles and citizens first came to terms with one another. The ruling class waived the privilege of birth, and of belonging to family associations; it opened the way to government to all who had property, and especially to those who were wealthiest in the city. The census, or, as the Greeks say, the

timocracy took the place of the aristocracy or those who claimed their rights as belonging to the old families; but the duty of equestrian service for the commonwealth was coupled with this concession. It was probably about the middle of the seventh century that in the ancient monarchical, and afterwards strictly aristocratic Cyme, admission into the ruling class was permitted to all those who were able to render knightly service; and subsequently the government of the city was committed to a council of a Thousand men, which consisted of the most wealthy of the inhabitants, or who were chosen by the wealthiest citizens from their midst to represent them (*supra*, p. 102). The same arrangement took place about the same time (in this case we can fix the date more definitely) in the Ionian city of Colophon (*supra*, p. 209).

The government of the ruling class took least root in those cities which were founded under the dominion of the nobles in the period of the aristocracy. The majority of the settlers in these new colonies was composed, not of those who were seeking commercial gains, but of those who were dissatisfied with the government of the nobles and with their position at home; this we know to have been the case with the founders of Tarentum, Locri, and Cyrene. If even these first founders had constituted themselves a new nobility, they would have wanted in the eyes of succeeding immigrants the authority of traditional respect, the knowledge of ancient laws, and a privileged position in regard to the gods. If the emigrants, moreover, came from various homes, it soon became impracticable to adjust one with another the fragments of laws and customs which they imported with them. The more quickly and powerfully the first settlers were

reinforced by others who emulated their successes, the more difficult it was for this new nobility to govern the new-comers in the manner of the ancient aristocratic corporations. No traditional feeling of subordination restrained them; and the new nobility had themselves to provide the law according to which they would rule. That prerogative of nobility which was most oppressive in the cantons of the peninsula, the sole possession of the knowledge of the law, was here of less importance; and the creation of a new code would most quickly lead to an equality between the first settlers and those who succeeded them.

Among the Locrians on the Corinthian Gulf in the second half of the eighth century, as everywhere at that time, the noble families were in power. These were those who bore arms, could boast of ancient descent, and were in possession of the herds which this mountain country sustained. They always went about armed, had feuds with their neighbours, and carried on piracy.[1] Here also the families had organised themselves; those of ancient descent, and possessing large property, were united into a "Hundred Houses;"[2] only members of these belonged to the nobility, and had votes in the council and in the courts of law. In the case of women belonging to families of the Hundred Houses, and married to men of the lower orders, or to peasants, the validity of the

[1] Thucyd. 1, 5; Plut. *Quæst. Græc.* 15. The bronze tablet of Galaxidi, from the first half of the fifth century, presents us with a convention agreed upon between the Locrian communities of Œanthe and Chaleum, to the effect that they would not plunder each other at sea, but strangers only. Ross, *Alte locrische Inschrift;* Kirchhoff, *Philolog.* 13, s. 1.

[2] Polyb. 12, 5. A similar organisation of the nobility seems to have existed among the Locrians of Opus. In Thucydides (1, 108) the Athenians take 100 hostages from the leading families there.

marriage was not acknowledged, and the children of it had no rights. Such persons, therefore, withdrew with their wives from the country; and the peasants on their lands and their servants went with them. About the year 700 B.C. some of these emigrants, led by a man named Evanthus, took ship for the west. They followed the direction pursued by the Achæans and by the Parthenians who had gone out after the close of the Messenian war (*supra*, p. 84), and founded on the south-west point of Italy, south of Croton, near the mouth of the river Halex, in the dominions of the Sicels, a city which they called Locri.[1] Polybius tells

[1] The date of the foundation of Locri may be gathered from Strabo: μικρὸν ὕστερον τῆς Κρότωνος καὶ Συρακουσῶν κτίσεως. Eusebius puts it in 673 B.C. Strabo distinctly contradicts the statement of Ephorus, that the settlement proceeded from the Opuntian Locrians; cf. Scymn. Ch. 315-317. Strabo's opinion is supported not only by the name of the œkist, Evanthus, which reminds us of Œanthe, the Ozolian town, but, above all, by Polybius (12, 5 ff), who was repeatedly at Locri. The proverbial breach of the treaty about the keeping of the strait at Rhium in favour of the Dorians against the Peloponnesians (vol. i. p. 204), which is quoted by Polybius in his polemic against Timæus in regard to Locri, can obviously only refer to the Ozolian Locrians—the foundation of the proverb is no doubt the breach by the Locrians of their compact with the Sicels. Neither the one nor the other took any part in the first Messenian war. The participation of the Ozolian Locrians was invented in order to explain the unequal marriages; the close connection of Sparta with the Ozolian and afterwards with the Epizephyrian Locrians is a fable which has arisen out of the special worship of the Dioscuri at Sparta and Locri. Aristotle and Theophrastus declared that Locri was founded by runaway slaves, adulterers, and kidnappers. Timæus considered that this was a libel upon Locri, and pointed to the fact that the Locrians had no purchased slaves (Athenæus, pp. 264, 272); that the customs and laws of Locri proved that the city had not been founded by slaves but by freemen; the constitution and laws of the Locrians, both in the mother country and in Italy, were mild and beneficent. On the other hand, Polybius appeals to the tradition of the city of Locri, and especially to the fact that the noble families derived their descent from women who had formerly belonged to the "Hundred Houses." Some of these women had emigrated with the slaves, and were still entitled: "of the Hundred Houses." Moreover, as the emigrants had no customs of their own, the city had adopted customs from the Sicels, and at sacrifices the bearer of the cup was not a man but a woman,

us (following the Locrian tradition itself) that they at first made a treaty with the Sicels for a common abode, but broke their oath, and on the first favourable opportunity drove out the Sicilians, from whom, however, they borrowed usages and religious rites.

Those of the fugitives, whom the "Hundred Houses" had repudiated, may have intended to vindicate for themselves in their new settlement the claims to nobility which were denied at home. Those who had

owing to the noble descent of the women, etc. In Dionysius the Periegete (v. 366), we are told that the Locrians, σφετέρης μιχθέντες ἀνάσσης, set out for Ausonia; and Eustathius explains the passage by saying that the Locrians were decried as the descendants of slaves. When the men among the Ozolian Locrians were absent in war (they were away twenty years with the Spartans, fighting against the Messenians), the slaves had united with their mistresses; and when the Locrians returned from the war, the slaves in fear ran away with the women, and founded Locri in Tyrrhenia. This, as I have said in the text, is the meaning of the adulterers of Aristotle. His "kidnappers" must refer to the piracy of the Ozolian Locrians, in which it was all-important to take prisoners, in order to sell them as slaves. The emigration to Locri was due to the same cause as the emigration of the Partheniæ, the refusal to recognise the legality of the marriages from which the emigrants were born; and, for the same reason, tradition brings these emigrants together, and represents the Locrians as taking part in the Messenian war. No doubt Timæus is right in maintaining that the Locrians had no purchased slaves in the eighth century B.C. But it does not follow that peasants, free or attached to the soil, and retainers, may not have joined in the rebellion with the husbands of those women, in order to find a better fortune beyond the sea. The support which, according to Strabo, Syracuse afforded to the settlers, is without doubt an invention of Antiochus, who wished to extend the glory of his city. The antiquity of the "Hundred Houses" among the Locrians is proved by Polybius, when he adds that from them were chosen the two maidens who were sent to Ilium to expiate the offence of the Locrian Ajax. According to Strabo (p. 601), these maidens were not sent till the time of the Persians. Timæus, it is true, asserts that the maidens had been sent for 1000 years, ending with the Phocian war (*Fragm.* 66 M). Iamblichus (*Vit. Pyth.* ch. 8) gives 1010 years. Plutarch merely remarks that it was not long since the Locrians had ceased to send the maidens (*Ser. Vind.* 12); the long period during which they were sent was no doubt calculated by the era of the fall of Ilium. The outrage of Ajax upon Cassandra hardly goes back farther than Arctinus [Proclus ap. Kinkel, *Ep. Gr. Fragm.* p. 49].

occupied a still worse position, and had emigrated on account of oppression, would not have desired to see the new commonwealth administered according to the laws of the old. By what regulations was peace to be maintained in the former, and legal disputes adjusted? Few among the settlers, probably, were acquainted with the ancient lore, the customs and traditions, according to which the men of the "Hundred Houses" had administered justice. Nevertheless the meanest among the settlers desired equal justice in the new colony. Thus it is easy to see how great confusion might readily ensue, and the necessity for the establishment of a new arrangement must have been immediately and pressingly felt.

The Locrians, we are told, inquired of the god how they could be delivered from their distressing calamities, and received for answer, that they must give themselves laws; a herdsman had the power to make for the citizens many excellent statutes. Zaleucus, a shepherd, was found among the flocks, and asked whether he was able to make good laws? He answered that the goddess Athena had appeared to him in a dream. Then his freedom was granted him, and he was established as lawgiver.[1] This story is quoted from Aristotle, and also the statement that Zaleucus received his laws from Athena.[2] Plutarch observes that Zaleucus made his laws acceptable to the Locrians by giving out that he was not promulgating his own thoughts and reflections, but that Athena had appeared to him, given him laws, and instructed him in them.[3]

[1] Aristotle in the Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* 11, 17. [*Fragm.* 275 D.]

[2] Clement, *Strom.* p. 422 P.

[3] Plut. Περὶ τοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἐπαινεῖν, chap. 11.

Irrespective of these legends (Athena was the tutelary goddess of the Locrians), and whether Zaleucus was a bondman and a shepherd, or of noble birth as others say,[1]—in any case, the shepherd of the oracle was intended for a shepherd of the Locrian people, a dictator, and hence the story arose—he was the first who gave a code of laws, the application and enforcement of which was not left solely to the practice and tradition of the judges. The laws which Zaleucus made for his city forty or fifty years after its founding, about the middle of the seventh century,[2] were the first written laws among the Hellenes.[3] This tradition is unquestionable. In Locri it was not required to keep old precedents piously in remembrance, but to create a new code. The citizens and peasants of Athens could hardly have raised a claim to written laws two decades later if there had been as yet no written law among the Hellenes. Ephorus maintains that Zaleucus put together his laws from those of the Cretans, the Spartans, and the Areopagites. The use of the Cretan laws must be founded on an error which Aristotle points out in Ephorus;[4] that of the Spartan laws on the traditional connection of the Ozolian Locrians and their emigrants with Sparta; by the laws of the Areopagites can only be intended the Attic usages of the avenging of blood and expiation for murder. The innovation introduced by Zaleucus, we further learn from Ephorus, consisted chiefly in this—that while it had hitherto been left to the judges to settle the punishment for every offence, Zaleucus fixed

[1] Diod. 12, 20.

[2] In opposition to Strabo, Eusebius puts the foundation of Locri in *Olymp.* 26, 4 = 673 B.C., the legislation of Zaleucus in *Olymp.* 29, 3 = 661 B.C.

[3] Strabo, p. 259; Scymn. Ch. 313.

[4] *Polit.* 2, 9, 5 = 1274 *a* 25.

the penalties by law; he therefore deserves praise, for the punishment for the same transgression must henceforward always be the same. On the other hand, the enactments of Zaleucus on the subject of contracts were simpler and rather of a superficial kind.[1] Diodorus, however, maintains that Zaleucus settled very well the disputed laws of property.[2] Polybius says that the law of Zaleucus contained the following provision: "Objects in dispute are to remain, until the legal decision, in the hands of the man who has taken possession of them."[3]

The chief grievance of the lower orders everywhere consisted in this, that it was in the power of the noble judge to fix their penalties, and that the ancient tradition according to which these sentences were passed, when they were not altogether arbitrary, was only known to the nobility. The fixing of a definite penalty for each offence was, therefore, required by the situation, and was a remarkable step in advance; and for this reason we may venture to accept the statement. When we are further told that the laws of Zaleucus were severe,[4] there is still less ground for disbelief. So far as we can see, it was the law of retaliation, "eye for eye, and tooth for tooth," by which, with the exception of the hitherto customary fines, bodily injuries were to be avenged. "He who puts out the eye of another, himself shall lose an eye." Other crimes Zaleucus also visited with severe punishments: the adulterer was to lose his sight.[5] Tradition is more uncertain in regard to some other regulations which show a tendency to limit the display

[1] Strabo, p. 260. [2] Diod. 12, 20. [3] Polyb. 12, 16.
[4] Zenob. *Centur.* 4, 20.
[5] Heracl. Pont. 30, 3 M; Ælian, *V. H.* 13, 24; Valer. Max. 6, 5, 3.

of the noble women and the luxury of the men. The women were not to wear golden ornaments nor garments embroidered with stripes (purple stripes), if they did not wish to be treated as Hetæræ; no woman was to go out with more than one handmaiden in attendance; a woman who left the city at night was to be considered guilty of adultery. Men might not wear gold rings nor clothes after the fashion of the Milesians, and no one, except by order of a physician, might drink wine unmixed with water.[1] Untrustworthy as these statements are as to particular details, we may yet ascribe to the laws of Zaleucus a certain ethical character, and a tendency to a censorship of manners.

Though these laws may have been meagre and rudimentary, it was an important and serious breach with the old aristocratic order of things that the measure of punishment should be prescribed to the judge, and that the law which they had to obey was made accessible to all members of the commonwealth. With this new legislation, Zaleucus must, doubtless, have combined a new kind of constitution. The internal strife which had brought about the legislation of Zaleucus could scarcely have been set at rest by the establishment of penal and civil laws only, unless it was at the same time decided in what hands the administration of these laws should lie. The question which had to be settled in Locri was not merely what laws should be in force there, but still more, who was to conduct the government. Polybius gives us a picture of Locri in ancient times in which there is one supreme officer, the "warden of the city" (κοσμόπολις), at the head of the government and of the courts of

[1] Diod. 12, 21; Athenæus, p. 429.

justice, judges of inferior courts under him, and a council of a Thousand members, occupied with the interpretation of a law of Zaleucus, and having in the last resort to decide as to its meaning.[1] We learn, further, that this assembly had also to decide upon any changes in the legislation of Zaleucus, and on the adoption of new laws. As Demosthenes says further that this council of a Thousand had only altered a single law of Zaleucus in more than 200 years;[2] as the Achæan cities, Croton and Sybaris, on the Gulf of Tarentum, adopted his laws; as in Croton in the sixth century, a council of a Thousand, to which, as in Locri, judicial power also belonged, governed the city,[3] there can scarcely be a doubt that the institution of the council of a Thousand in Locri is to be ascribed to Zaleucus. The fixing of the precise number of a thousand strengthens the confirmatory evidence; it was natural that Zaleucus should fix upon that number for the ruling assembly of his newer and broader organisation with the pattern of the "Hundred Houses" before him whose representatives ruled at home. In what way this assembly was formed we can only guess. Emigrants who had left their home in order to withdraw themselves from the oppression of the aristocracy, could not have founded a new nobility on birth and descent, but at most on the right of prior colonisation. If we can infer anything from analogy (for in Cyme and Colophon the aristocratic government was reformed in the same way), Zaleucus at the same time substituted the right of property for that of birth, and formed the new nobility, the ruling class of the city, from the wealthy families. Wherever

[1] Polyb. 12, 16. [2] Demosth. *in Timoc.* p. 744 R.
[3] *Infra*, Book 5, chap. 16.

we find a council of a Thousand, we may suppose that an equalisation of the nobles and those who were not noble had taken place on the basis of the census; even though, in consequence of this equality, those only found admission into the ruling class who could render knightly service, and though the result of this reform was merely the constitution of a new and enlarged nobility. As things were in that period, it was everywhere the possession of land, and not that of means, which had to be taken into account. The thousand families of the city who had the largest amount of land were the ruling corporation; their representatives formed the great council which appointed the superior and inferior officers of justice, and gave the casting vote in matters of government and jurisdiction. Within the ruling class thus constituted by the thousand chief landowners, the descendants of the ancient nobility at home, of the "Hundred Houses," more especially the women of those families, retained certain privileges, at any rate in regard to the functions of public worship.[1] Whether the thousand families always kept their position, or whether in case of alienation of lands or of impoverished circumstances, they were replaced by others which meanwhile had acquired more extensive estates, does not appear. Aristotle merely tells us that the law among the Locrians forbade the alienation of inherited landed property; proof must be furnished that the possessor had been overtaken by a public disaster.[2] According to this, and judging from the whole position of things, it seems probable that Zaleucus intended the

[1] Polyb. 12, 5. In exactly the same manner the women at Thurii, who were descended from the ancient Sybaris, retained privileges at religious ceremonies (Diod. 12, 11). [2] *Polit.* 2, 4, 4 = 1266 *b* 19.

privileged families to retain their status, and only in case of necessity to recruit their numbers from the rest of the population. The extremely conservative character of his legislation is still more strikingly shown by a regulation ascribed to him by Demosthenes and Polybius. If any one took a different view of the meaning and interpretation of one of his laws from that of the warden, or chief magistrate of the city, and maintained his view in opposition to the latter, they were both to state their opinion before the council of a Thousand. Both were to conduct their case before the assembly, but with cords round their necks. If the assembly decided against the view of the appellant, he was immediately strangled in their presence, if against the warden, his fate was the same. Zaleucus ordained the same procedure in regard to the changing of existing laws, or the introduction of a new law. The man who proposed the innovation had to bring the matter before the council with a cord about his neck, and was put to death if his proposal were negatived. This regulation prevented any change being made in the laws of Zaleucus, except in one particular, during more than 200 years. The exception was that the enactment: "he who puts out the eye of another shall himself lose an eye," was thus altered: "he who deprives another of an eye shall lose both his own if that other be already a man with one eye."[1] To punish the unsuccessful proposer of a law is peculiar to the later legislation of the Greeks. In proof of the severity of the code of Zaleucus, Greek legend, which delights in drastic traits, relates that when his own son, being convicted of adultery, ought to have lost his eyes according to his father's law, the

[1] Polyb. 12, 16; Demosth. *in Timoc.* p. 744.

council wished to abrogate his punishment, whereupon Zaleucus had himself deprived of one eye and his son of one, that the law might take its full course.[1]

Sybaris and Croton, the Achæan cities adjacent to Locri, adopted the laws of Zaleucus. Sybaris is said to have enjoyed prosperity as long as they were observed.[2] Locri, which as the ruins of its walls show, never attained to more than a medium size (it reached to the south as far as the coast-river Halex, and to the west as far as the woody heights of Mount Sila), under the constitution and laws of Zaleucus, successfully carried on a severe conflict with the far more important neighbouring city of Croton. Pindar extols the "sharp-sighted wisdom of Locri and her knowledge of the spear," "the incorruptible justice" which rules in her, "to whose heart Calliope and the brazen Ares are dear."[3] Aristotle ascribes the destruction which overtook Locri in the fourth century before Christ, to the circumstance that its government was neither a democracy nor a well-arranged aristocracy.[4]

It was not only in Locri and the cities of the Achæans in Southern Italy, Sybaris and Croton, that a code of laws was early attained; this was also the case with the cities of the Ionians on the coasts of Sicily and in Lower Italy, with Naxos, Leontini, Catana, Zancle, Rhegium, Himera, and Cyme, the colonies of Naxos and Chalcis. The same causes which obliged Locri, not long after its founding, to set up a new order of things, and to establish legal standards, seem to have been at work in Catana, one of the oldest colonies in

[1] Heracl. Pont. 30, 3; Ælian, *V. H.* 13, 24; Valer. Max. 6, 5, 3.
[2] Scymn. Ch. 345 *sqq.* [3] *Olymp.* 10, 19; 11, 14-16.
[4] *Polit.* 5, 6, 7 = 1307 *a* 38.

Sicily, on the slopes of Mount Etna (*supra*, p. 156), and to have led, though more slowly, to a similar result. The colonies of Chalcis were founded under the dominion of the Hippobotæ, the ruling classes in the mother city, and governed according to this type (*supra*, p. 160). But the colonists were not Chalcidians only, they were a mixed population of different constituents having, no doubt, various laws and customs: in the founding of Naxos, Leontini, and Catana, Ionians from Eubœa and Naxos had co-operated, and probably these were followed by settlers from other places. Thus there arose the necessity here also for seeking new laws for the protection of life and property. The Catanians assigned this task about the year 640 B.C. to Charondas,[1] who must have been a man of intelligence, acuteness, and industry. Aristotle praises the

[1] Zaleucus and Charondas are generally mentioned together. According to a tradition quoted by Aristotle (*Polit.* 2, 9, 5 = 1274 *a* 29), Charondas was the pupil of Zaleucus. All that we know definitely is that as the laws of Zaleucus were the first written laws among the Greeks, those of Charondas must be later. It is clear from the statement of Heraclides Ponticus (25) that the laws of Charondas were current in Rhegium in the sixth century. Diodorus confounds the legislation of Thurii, of which the code of Charondas may have formed the basis (Diod. 12, 11) —it was drawn up, according to Heraclides Ponticus, by Pythagoras, Diog. Laert. 9, 50—with the legislation of Charondas, and transfers him to Thurii. The same confusion is found in Steph. Byz. Κατάνη. Hence, in regard to the laws of Charondas, those passages only need consideration for which he quotes the passages of older comedians (12, 14), who mention the lawgiver. Cicero speaks of the preamble to the laws, in which reverence and respect for those in office is recommended (*De Legibus*, 3, 2, 5). In the preamble in Stobæus we find the same tone, and if at the close it is said that the laws were repeated at banquets, Athenæus quotes from Hermippus to the effect that at Athens the laws of Charondas were sung over the wine (p. 619). But Athenæus maintains that the laws of Thurii emanated from Zaleucus (p. 508). This is obviously the opinion of Ephorus in Strabo (p. 260), who, after giving his description of the laws of Zaleucus, says: "When the Thurians expressed simple and general regulations with more precision, they acquired, indeed, a greater reputation, but the practical result was bad. It is impossible to provide by law against every case; simple regulations must be faithfully kept."

legislation of Charondas, which he says was superior to all others of his (Aristotle's) time in accuracy of definition and fineness of discrimination. Aristotle only tells us respecting its details that members of the same household were called *ὁμοσίπυοι*, *i.e.* perhaps, partakers of the bread-basket, and that the most prominent feature of his laws was the impeachment for false witness: he is said to have introduced pleadings against the witnesses (*ἐπίσκηψις*).[1] We also hear, but not on very trustworthy authority, that Charondas, in order that widowers might not give stepmothers to their children, made second marriages difficult by excluding those who entered into them from public offices. Still more uncertain is the tradition, though it is quite in keeping with the character of antiquity, that a law of Charondas made those who refused to render military service, or fled from battle, sit for three days in the market-place in women's clothes; and that those convicted of false witness might thenceforth only show themselves in public with a wreath of tamarisk.

Of the new constitution settled at Catana by Charondas we know nothing. But, as we afterwards find in Rhegium under the laws of Charondas, a council of a Thousand, "chosen according to their census," at the head of the state—as the constitution of the Italian city of Cyme in the last decades of the sixth century is described as aristocratic, and the importance of their knights is extolled, while at the same time we are told that the "supreme power over many things does not belong to the people,"[2] so in the Chalcidian cities concessions must have been made by, or simultaneously with, the legislation of Charondas;

[1] *Polit.* 1, 1, 6 = 1252 *b* 14; 2, 9, 8 = 1274 *b* 7.
[2] Heracl. Pont. 25; Dionys. Hal. 7, 4.

here also property was substituted for noble birth. That the laws of Charondas affected the political rights of citizens we find not only from uncertain traditions, but from the statement of Aristotle that Charondas extorted a heavy fine from wealthy persons who refused to undertake the office of judge, and a lighter one from those who were poorer. If the poorer were not only qualified but obliged to undertake judicial offices, the exclusive right of the first settlers to the government can no longer have existed in Catana; rights must have been accorded to their successors either by or previous to Charondas; and this agrees with the statement of Aristotle, that Charondas himself belonged to the middle class of his city.[1] If the rich man who waived his judicial functions had to pay a high fine, and the poor man a small fine, this precept was probably founded less on justice and equity than on the design of seeing the office of judge chiefly filled by the wealthy. The ancient custom of wearing arms, even in the assembly, is said to have been abrogated by Charondas, and those who observed it were punished with death. On one occasion, being armed with a sword at his side against robbers, he was returning from his estate to the city when the council was assembled, and hearing a tumult, he hastened to it. One of the assembly exclaimed, "Thou hast broken thine own law!" "No, by Zeus," he replied, "I will fulfil it!" and, drawing his sword, fell upon it. The same story is told of Diocles, the Syracusan —like the self-blinding of Zaleucus, it was intended to illustrate the lawgiver's inexorable devotion to law. According to another story, Charondas, flying or banished from Catana, went to Rhegium, and here

[1] *Polit.* 4, 10=1297 *a* 21; 4, 9, 10=1296 *a* 21.

introduced his laws:[1] the foundation of the legend was probably the mere fact that his legislation was received in Rhegium. Thucydides and Aristotle say that the Chalcidian cities in Sicily and Italy, *i.e.* in addition to Catana, Leontini, Naxos, Himera, Zancle, Rhegium and Cyme, adopted the laws of Charondas.[2] Sicily, we are told by Plato, venerates Charondas as Sparta venerates Lycurgus, and Athens Solon.

In those commonwealths on the Anatolian coast which had not diverted the claims of the people by new settlements, and in the colonies founded at the period when the nobility bore rule, and mostly by enemies of the aristocracy at home—in which here and there emigrants from different places and possessing various traditions were found side by side—an equality was soonest established between the privileged classes and those excluded from the government; the ruling class was enlarged, while the duties of the nobles were maintained. In the more ancient colonies this result was achieved by the more opulent among the excluded being admitted into the ruling class; and in the more recent settlements in the west, by the administration of equal justice to all citizens in questions of property and equal penalties for crime. On the other hand, where the nobles were in longer established and firmer possession of their rank and prerogatives, in the conquered and unconquered cantons of the peninsula, they obstinately defended their traditional rights and exclusive authority in the commonwealth. When, about the middle of the seventh century, the cessation of colonisation, *i.e.* the emigration of the malcontents, made the pressure of the citizens and peasants at home

[1] Ælian, *V. H.* 3, 17.

[2] *Polit.* 2, 9, 5 = 1274 *a* 23; Thucyd. 6, 5; Heracl. Pont. 25.

greater, some concession, no doubt, was made, but it was made only to be revoked under more favourable circumstances. The government of the nobles here became more oppressive, in proportion as they felt themselves threatened in regard to their position, and compelled to defend it energetically. Then, no doubt, different sentences were pronounced on nobles and commoners for the same crime, the already sufficiently severe penalties were increased, the judgment-seat became an instrument of power, the right of punishing a means of inspiring terror. The peasants and poor people who were in debt to the nobility were overburdened with taxes; treated with the full severity of the hard debtors' law, the property of the peasant class grew less and less, and the weaker the class became, the more was it forced to obey.

The nobility found itself in possession of the religious and political authority—the sacrifices, the government, the right of jurisdiction. It was held together and organised by its courts and its family associations; and only a disorganised multitude stood over against it. The nobles were practised in arms; the people, for the most part, without weapons or defensive armour. The nobility were in a position to devote their time and strength entirely to the community and the government; the people were taken up with the cares of living, and dependent in many ways for food and subsistence upon the landed nobility.

In such circumstances the citizens and peasants had scarcely any prospect of obtaining a hearing for their claims, or of acquiring a share in the government of the commonwealth. It happened, however, that in the ranks of the nobles themselves there were found men who undertook to represent the interests of the

lower classes. In some it may have been sympathy for the oppression, by which the nobles replied to the demands of the people; in others, a conviction of the justice of those demands; others, again, may have been prompted by the ambition of turning the aspirations of the citizens and peasants to account in their own advancement. It was not difficult to win the confidence of the people, if a man made the demands of the lower classes his own, and enforced them with vigour. Nothing could be more desirable to those classes than to see a leader at their head from the circles of the ruling class, who would supply the organisation, in which they were deficient.

For a position of this kind there was no room in the existing constitutions. It was impossible to maintain such a leadership in opposition to the power of the ruling class. Those who placed themselves at the head of the people were immediately obliged to go farther, if they wished to escape destruction. If the popular leader attained to power, if through a bold master-stroke or a revolution the dominion of the nobility had been overthrown, how could the victorious leader of a party secure himself against the reaction of the nobles—who, even though for the moment conquered, possessed the strong resources of large property, inherited respect and proved efficiency in arms—unless he took and kept in his own hands the chief authority? His dominion then became a question of his personal security and existence. The people took his part against the nobility, for they desired the curtailment of aristocratic privileges; the new ruler had to maintain himself against the reaction of the nobles. Too weak to fight against the latter except with a powerful protector at their head, citizens and

peasants gladly saw themselves exempted from the useless struggle, the toil of constant warfare against the aristocracy. They were quite ready to support and maintain a new monarchy which delivered them from aristocratic oppression, and took upon itself to keep a check on the nobles, and to secure for the citizens equal justice with them, while peaceably pursuing their labours and occupations. By such means as these monarchy was revived and re-established among the Hellenes. "As Hellas grew more powerful, and the acquisition of wealth became more and more rapid," says Thucydides, "the revenues of her cities increased, and in most of them tyrannies were established; they had hitherto been ruled by hereditary kings with fixed prerogatives."[1] This new monarchy did not rest, like the ancient monarchy, on an aristocratic basis; it was a democratic monarchy, founded on the interests of the lower classes, and deriving its power and its justification from the representation of these, in opposition to the nobility.

[1] Thucyd. 1, 13.

CHAPTER III.

THE TYRANTS OF CORINTH.

UNDER the rule of the nobility—the superintendence of the prytanes elected from the *gens* of the Bacchiadæ—Corinth had applied herself vigorously to navigation. Scarcely had the route to Sicily been discovered when Corinth made use of it, founded Syracuse, colonised Corcyra, repressed the piracy of the Ætolians and Locrians on the Corinthian Gulf, and entered into relations with the island of Samos in the Ægean Sea. Megara, it is true, had separated herself from Corinth after the fall of the monarchy, and not only maintained her independence but emulated the maritime expeditions of that state. A few years after the building of Syracuse, the Megarians founded Sicilian Megara, and afterwards Selinus on the south coast of Sicily; in the Ægean Sea they decidedly outstripped the Corinthians by the founding of Chalcedon and Byzantium on the Bosphorus. But the extraordinarily favourable position of Corinth on both seas made itself felt as the colonies of the Greeks in the east and west increased. The more numerous the Greek cities on the coasts of Sicily and Lower Italy became, the farther colonisation spread from the west coast of Asia Minor into the Hellespont, the Propontis, the Bosphorus, and Black Sea, the more distinctly was Corinth pointed out as the centre of the naval commerce of Hellas, and the

more lively the intercourse became at this meeting-point between the ships of the east and west.

"The close juxtaposition of the two harbours of Corinth" (Lechæum on the Corinthian Gulf, and Cenchreæ on the Ægean Sea), says Strabo, "made it easy to carry the cargoes of the ships from one to the other; and as in ancient times the voyage round Cape Malea was difficult, the mariners of Asia and Sicily found it desirable to convey their goods to Corinth. The possessors of the isthmus received dues not only from these, but from whatever was brought from the Peloponnesus by land."[1]

The trade which Corinth, Corcyra, and Syracuse had opened with the coasts of the Epirotes and Illyrians, and with the Sicilians, required the means of exchange—wares for exportation. The Greeks ascribe to the Corinthians the invention of the potter's wheel, and of a particular mixture of bronze,[2] and Pindar praises "the ancient inventions of the children of Aletes;"[3] but these are rather heirlooms of Phœnician art, of the ancient station of the Phœnicians on the isthmus—heirlooms, the tradition of which had not quite been lost even in the storms of the migrations. The necessity of commerce must have awakened the arts in Corinth to new and fuller life. Earthenware vessels, ornamented and painted, bronze utensils, cups and bowls, beaten with the hammer, woven tissues and weapons, were articles much in request on those coasts. How well shipbuilding was understood in Corinth we have seen from the invention of the trireme; that architecture was no unknown art was soon to be proved by the fact that the temple of the Greeks here assumed its permanent form; and of the

[1] Strabo, p. 378.

[2] "Æs Corinthium," Pliny, *H. N.* 34, 3.

[3] *Olymp.* 13, 14.

sculpture of Corinth, Hellas was destined in a short time to receive many admirable proofs. On the basis of such many-sided activity, trade in Corinth must have greatly increased and employed numerous hands. Herodotus tells us that there artizans were least despised. In Corinth, at an earlier period than elsewhere, trade became wholesale. Beside the manufacturers were the shipowners and merchants; beside the artizans, the pilots, sailors, and rowers. The town population must have become the more numerous in Corinth from the small extent of the territory, and the unproductiveness of agriculture owing to the rocky nature of the soil. This great rise of the burgher class explains why the new monarchy appeared in Corinth earlier than in the other cantons of Greece, and was able to maintain itself during a considerable period.

The ordinances of the Corinthian aristocracy and the government of the Bacchiadæ hardly afforded to the citizen class the free play and the attention to its interests which its aspirations required. It may have been that the separation of Corcyra, and the consequent injury to the Corinthian commerce on the coasts of Epirus, irritated the shipowners and merchants, and embittered them against the government, for nine years after the indecisive naval battle against the Corcyræans (*supra*, p. 49) the government of the nobles in Corinth fell.

Having attained great power, the Bacchiadæ lost it through their overweening arrogance, says Ælian.[1] Strabo observes that they unscrupulously appropriated the profits of commerce.[2] Nicolaus of Damascus says that the Bacchiadæ made themselves hated by their unjust judgments, imposition of fines, withdrawal

[1] *Var. Hist.* 1, 19. [2] Strabo, p. 378.

of civic rights, and sentences of banishment. A man named Cypselus, son of Eetion, a Bacchiad by birth, had gained the favour of the people, having shown himself brave and discreet, friendly and serviceable to them. When he was discharging the office of polemarch, which in Corinth involved the collection of penal fines, a portion of which fell to the polemarch, he neither imprisoned the condemned persons nor put them in chains, as was customary, but contented himself with appointing sureties for the payment of the fines, waived the portion of them that belonged to himself, and became security for the proper amount being handed in. Patroclides, on the contrary — another Bacchiad who had been elected prytanis — exercised his power unlawfully, and thus increased the ill-will of the people. Cypselus saw that they were ready to overthrow the Bacchiadæ if they could find a leader, and he himself, also menaced by that family, offered to command them. He assured them that a divine oracle had declared that the dominion of the Bacchiadæ should be overturned by him; they had desired, and were still desiring, to destroy him, but the prescribed fate was not to be averted. The people confided in his courage and ability to accomplish the work. With the assistance of sworn confederates he slew Patroclides, and the citizens made him king of Corinth on the spot (655 B.C.)[1]

[1] If we allow the narrative of Nicolaus to be outweighed by Aristotle's remark (*Pol.* 5, 8, 4 = 1310 *b* 29) that Cypselus became tyrant, not ἐκ τῶν τιμῶν, but ἐκ δημαγωγίας, it does not follow that he did not establish the tyranny immediately after holding office as polemarch. Eusebius and Jerome put the beginning of the reign of Cypselus in *Olymp.* 30, 2 = 659, 658 B.C.; Diodorus (*Fragm.* lib. 7, 9, 3) in 657 B.C. (1104-447 = 657). Diogenes Laertius (1, 95), who had Apollodorus and Sosicrates before him, puts the ἀκμή of Periander about *Olymp.* 38 = 624 B.C. By the ἀκμή some decisive event is meant, in this case obviously the

Of the origin and fortunes of Cypselus before his elevation, Greek legend has much to narrate. At the time when the Thessalians invaded the country which bore their name, and the Lapithæ were forced to give way before them, the family of Cæneus the Lapith fled to Sicyon, and Melas, the son of Antasus, a descendant of Cæneus of that city, allied himself with Aletes and the Dorians when they went forth to conquer Corinth. Aletes at first sent him away at the command of the god of Delphi, but afterwards disregarding the oracle, and yielding to the entreaty of Melas, in recognition of his services in battle, he received him as a member of the new commonwealth of Corinth (into the *gentes* of the conquerors, *i.e.* of the nobles).[1] From this Melas

accession to the throne. Sosicrates stated that Periander died in the year before *Olymp.* 49 (= 584 B.C.), *i.e.* in 585 B.C., "forty years before Crœsus," by which is meant the fall of Sardis, not the death of Crœsus. As Eratosthenes probably, and Apollodorus and Sosicrates certainly, fixed the fall of Crœsus in the year following the burning of the Delphic temple (*Olymp.* 58, 1 = 548 B.C.), and the end of the space of three years granted to Crœsus in Herodotus at *Olymp.* 58, 3 = 546, 545 B.C., forty years bring us to 586, 585 B.C. The Armenian Eusebius also fixes the fall of the Cypselids in 586, 585 B.C., meaning by this the death of Periander. As Periander has a reign of forty years both in Aristotle and Diogenes, Cypselus of thirty years in Herodotus and Aristotle (in Eusebius twenty-eight years), the accession of Cypselus falls seventy years before Periander's death, *i.e.* in 655 B.C. It is true that in Aristotle (*Pol.* 5, 9, 22 = 1315 *b* 25) we read τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τέσσαρα for Periander, yet the total sum leaves no doubt. If Diels is right (*Apollodor's Chron.*, Rhein. Mus. 31, s. 20 ff) in supposing that the epoch of the wise men was fixed by the year of Periander's death, this year must be the same as that of the second archonship of Damasias, which, in his list of the archons, Demetrius of Phalerum, gives as the date for the same epoch; Diogen. Laert. 1, 22 (Marmor. Par. *Ep.* 38 puts Damasias *Olymp.* 49, 2 or 3 = 582, 581 B.C.). Hence we have here one of the best ascertained dates. From the date 657 B.C., given in Diodorus, the kings of the Lyncestæ fixed their era, who claimed descent from the Bacchiadæ; consequently, in one of the oldest Macedonian lists, the first year of Perdiccas I. is put at 657 B.C. Cf. Solinus, p. 72 Mommsen; Von Gutschmid, *Sym. Ph. B.* p. 112.

[1] Paus. 2, 4, 4; 5, 18, 7, 8. Pausanias is, no doubt, right in supposing that the representation of two opposing armies ready to greet each other, on the chest of Cypselus, depicts the soldiers of Aletes and Melas.

sprang Echecrates, whose son was Eetion. Amphion, one of the Bacchiadæ, so runs the story of Herodotus, had a daughter called Labda, who was lame.[1] Owing to this defect no Bacchiad would marry her; so she became the wife of Eetion, a man of no note. There came an oracle to the Bacchiadæ to this effect: "The eagle in the rocks (Petra) is pregnant, and will bring into the world a strong and devouring lion, who will cause the knees of many to tremble. Consider this well, ye who dwell around the beautiful Pirene and the lofty Corinthus." The Bacchiadæ did not understand the meaning of the oracle. But when Eetion himself went to Delphi to seek counsel about progeny, the Pythia exclaimed as he entered, "No one honours thee, Eetion, although thou art worthy of much honour. Labda is pregnant; she will bear a rolling-stone; it will fall upon the men who rule as monarchs, and will help Corinth to obtain justice." Then the meaning of the oracle they had previously received became clear to the Bacchiadæ; and when Labda bore a son, in the district of Petra (rocks), where was the house of Eetion, they resolved to destroy him, and sent ten men of their number to kill the child. When they arrived, they asked to see the boy. Unsuspicious of their design the mother brought him and gave him to one of the men. They had agreed that the first who should receive the child into his arms should dash him on the ground; but the boy, for it was so ordained by the gods, smiled upon the strange man and moved his pity, so that he passed him on to one of his companions; one gave him in this way to another, but none had the heart to kill him. They returned him to his

[1] According to *Etymolog. Magn.* (v. Βλαισός), she was called Lambda from her crooked legs.

mother and went out. Then they reproached each other, but finally agreed to go back and destroy the child together. But his mother had heard their conversation from the door, and in terror lest they should return and kill the boy she hid him in a chest, where she supposed they would be least likely to find him. The men sought for him in vain, and determined to tell those who had sent them that they had carried out all their instructions. The father called the child, who had escaped death through a chest, Cypselus, *i.e.* chest-man; and when he grew to be a man he received in Delphi this favourable oracle: "Happy is the man who enters my house, Cypselus, son of Eetion, king of the far-famed Corinth, himself and his sons, though no longer the sons of his sons." Relying on these words he addressed himself to the work, and won Corinth.[1] Nicolaus tells us that the Bacchiadæ, as soon as they had received the oracle announcing that Cypselus, son of Eetion, was to overthrow their power, sent armed men to slay him. When the child stretched out his arms to them they were seized with compassion, and betrayed their purpose to the father. He carried him for protection to the temple of Olympia, and afterwards to Cleonæ in Argolis; and when the youth subsequently received a favourable oracle at Delphi, he returned to Corinth.[2]

The elements out of which this legend grew, or was composed, may have been something of the following kind. It was, doubtless, the new royal house of Corinth which, rightly or wrongly, traced its descent from the Lapithæ, from Cæneus. We found in Attica the Pirithoïdæ and the Coronidæ, families of the Lapithæ. As these, flying before the Thessalians,

[1] Herod. 5, 92. [2] Nicol. Damasc. *Fragm.* 58.

came to Attica, the Cænidæ may have passed on to the Ægialeis, and therefore to the territory of Sicyon, as Pausanias says, and from thence have joined the expedition of the Dorians against Corinth. That the attack upon Corinth was made by warriors collected together from all sides is sufficiently proved by the name of the leader, Aletes, *i.e.* the rover.[1] As to the origin of Cypselus, the family wished to claim descent from forefathers who had assisted in the founding of the Dorian city of Corinth; this was sufficient motive for the legend to prepare for the fall of the Heraclidæ, who, though no longer kings, still stood as prytanes in a dynastic position at the head of Corinth, by a fault of Aletes, the ancestor of the Bacchiadæ, who were the Corinthian Heraclidæ.[2] Aletes was disobedient to the divine oracle, which commanded him not to receive Melas. Moreover, the Bacchiadæ take the guilt on themselves by repudiating a daughter of their house on account of a bodily defect, and thereby arousing the destroyer. It may be that the family of Cypselus was connected on his mother's side with the Bacchiadæ, who were now warned by an oracle that they should try and kill him in his cradle; but destiny is not to be avoided. The story in Herodotus of the saving of the boy by the chest (Nicolaus does not mention this) has its foundation in the name Cypselus (κυψέλη, chest), in the beautifully worked chest dedicated by the son and successor of Cypselus in the Heræum at Olympia. The name of Cypselus and this offering sufficed to the imagination of the Greeks for the composition of the legend which represented the boy Cypselus as saved in the chest, although the name is often found as applied both to places and men. A

[1] Vol. i. p. 218. [2] Nicol. Damasc. *Fragm.* 58 *init.*

town in Arcadia is called Cypsela:[1] we have already met with King Cypselus at Trapezus in Arcadia; his son placed Æpytus on the throne of Messenia, and his posterity led the Arcadians to the help of the Messenians against the Spartans.[2] The two oracles from Delphi in the narrative of Herodotus were composed after the events had been accomplished. This is shown by the emphatic play on words in the first oracle, and the limitation of the promise in the second. Cypselus, however, may none the less have been encouraged by the Pythia to put forth his hand to gain the crown. The treasure-house erected by him in Delphi testifies to this, and likewise the assent obtained by another man at Delphi in regard to a similar enterprise, which Thucydides represents as occurring not much later. The oracles are not authentic.

The narrative of Nicolaus, no doubt taken from Ephorus, of the respect paid to Cypselus by the people of Corinth, which caused him to be made their king, may perhaps have had its origin in the attempts of the nobles to maintain their rule against the aspiring citizen-class by severe use of their penal authority, by the terror of their judicial sentences and the large amount of their fines; whereas Cypselus, by his opposite course of conduct, rendered himself beloved by the people. Aristotle merely says that Cypselus, by leading the people, gained the throne,[3] *i.e.* as leader of a party, as representative of the interests of the governed, the government fell to his lot. This change cannot have been finally accomplished without violence. It is certain that the aristocratic government in Corinth came to an end under the presidency of the

[1] Thucyd. 5, 33. [2] *Supra*, p. 56.

[3] Aristot. *Pol.* 5, 8, 4 = 1310 *b* 29; vol. i. p. 212; 8, 9, 22 = 1315 *b* 27.

ninetieth president of the *gens* of the Bacchiadæ, under Patroclides, chosen from the Bacchiadæ to be president in the year 655 B.C.

As to the fate of the conquered Bacchiadæ, Nicolaus of Damascus says that Cypselus banished them and confiscated their property, and that they went to Corcyra. Polyænus says that Cypselus sent the most distinguished of them to Delphi to inquire of the god concerning the preservation of Corinth, and then forbade them to return. Plutarch relates that a sorrowful train of exiled Bacchiadæ came to Sparta. According to Dionysus, Demaratus, one of the Bacchiadæ, who with his ship had often visited the Tyrrhenian cities, and had there acquired great riches, fled before the tyranny of Cypselus with all the possessions that he could collect in his ship to Tarquinii, where were his staunchest and most numerous friends. Strabo's story is that Demaratus, one of the dynasts of Corinth, escaped from the conflict of parties, and brought great wealth to Tyrrhenia.[1] In Tacitus and Pliny we read that writing, sculpture, and painting, came to Italy[2] in the train of Demaratus, who fled from the injustice of Cypselus to the Etruscans in Italy; this refers to the influence which the Greek cities of Sicily and Lower Italy, and Greek commerce on the coasts of Italy, exercised upon these tribes (*supra*, p. 162). If the Roman legend places the son of Demaratus by a noble Tyrrhenian on the throne of Rome, the royal house of the Lyncestæ, a race which dwelt in the north of Macedonia, on the eastern slopes of Mount Pindus, traced its origin to Arrhabæus, another Bacchiad. The

[1] Nicol. Damasc. *loc. cit.*; Polyæn. 5, 31; Dionys. Hal. 3, 46; Strabo, p. 378; Plut. *Lys.* 1.

[2] Pliny, *H. N.* 35, 43 (151); Tacit. *Ann.* 11, 14.

support which Corinth sought from Sparta against Argos, and the help which Sparta is said to have received from Corinth against the Messenians, are strong evidence that some of the Bacchiadæ sought protection in Sparta.[1] The common refuge, meanwhile, for those members of the *gens* of the Bacchiadæ, of the Corinthian nobles who were overthrown and banished by Cypselus, must have been the Corinthian colony which had lately fallen away from the mother city, the island of Corcyra. Here the flying and banished compatriots again found a home far from Cypselus. Nicolaus, as we have seen, mentions Corcyra as the refuge of the exiles; the route to Sicily and Italy was past that island, and the Corcyræan ships traded on the coasts of the Epirotes, from whence across the central chain the way led to the Lyncestæ.

Cypselus knew how to secure the crown he had won, and to utilise his authority for the increase of the power and prosperity of Corinth. "He ruled," says Nicolaus of Damascus, "with gentleness, and was not hated by the Corinthians; he had no bodyguard. Those who had been banished by the Bacchiadæ he recalled; to those who had been deprived by them of the rights of citizens he restored those rights; those who he thought were not favourably disposed towards his government he sent to the colonies; those to whom he had given back home and civil rights were absolutely devoted to him." With this agrees the testimony of Aristotle, who says, "Cypselus ruled as head of the popular party, and during his reign he did not surround himself with guards; hence the tyranny which he founded lasted a long time, for it was conducted with moderation towards the governed, and for the most

[1] Strabo, p. 326; *supra*, pp. 30, 71.

part was subject to the laws."[1] "He who would securely maintain the tyrannical power must not surround himself with weapons, but with the bodyguard of kindly behaviour," Cypselus is reported to have said.[2] That he sat on the throne which he erected for thirty years, and that his legitimate son was able to succeed him in the government without disturbance, are sufficient evidence that the government of Cypselus must have been wise, satisfactory to the citizens, and advantageous to Corinth.

The defection of Corcyra had injured the trade of Corinth on the coasts of Epirus and Acarnania, and disturbed the intercourse with Syracuse the more sensibly, as in the then condition of navigation the route to Sicily lay by Corcyra. Cypselus undertook to remedy this, and to counterbalance the power of Corcyra in those waters, which might have seemed the more necessary, since the Bacchiadæ had taken refuge there. The establishment of the city of Molycreum, in the territory of the Ozolian Locrians, on the Strait of Rhium, which afforded the Corinthians undisturbed egress from the gulf, and protected them against the attacks of Locrian and Anatolian pirates; the founding of a second Corinthian colony, or the appropriation of the already existing city of Chalcis, with a good harbour, on Ætolian soil, appears to fall within the reign of Cypselus.[3] Better attested and

[1] *Polit.* 5, 9, 21, 22 = 1315 *b* 27.

[2] This saying, which Diogenes ascribes to Periander—who, according to Aristotle, had a bodyguard—cannot possibly have come from him, though it may have come from Cypselus. The words *tyrannis* and *tyrannus* are first found in Archilochus (*Fragm.* 25 Bergk), and in Simonides of Amorgos, *Fragm.* 7, 69 Bergk.

[3] Thucyd. 1, 108; 2, 83. The "Catalogue of Ships" in the *Iliad* mentions Chalcis among the cities of the Ætolians, v. 640. On the piracy of the Locrians, see *supra*, p. 323 note.

more important is the establishment of Corinthian colonies on the shores of Epirus and Acarnania. With these Cypselus entrusted his younger sons—born out of wedlock—Gorgus, Pylades, and Echiades. If they were a success, his children were by this means furnished with dependent principalities. In the territory of the Molossi, on the north shore of the deep bay which separates Epirus from Acarnania, above the mouth of the Arachthus, the river which flows from Tomarus and Dodona into this bay, a Corinthian colony was founded under the leadership of Gorgus. It was called Ambracia, and subsequently gave its name to the bay. A second colony was conducted by Pylades to the coasts of Acarnania. On the peninsula which runs out far to the west from that shore, and is called Leucas from the white limestone rocks which fringed the edge, southwards of the entrance into the Ambracian Gulf, lay Nericus, an ancient town of the Acarnanians. Thither Pylades went with a thousand Corinthian colonists, overcame the inhabitants, and founded at no great distance a new city, which bore the name of the peninsula. In order to facilitate the entrance into the Ambracian Gulf for Corinthian ships, and, at the same time, for security against the Acarnanians, the narrow neck of land which connects the peninsula with the continent was cut. East of Leucas, on the southern shore of the Ambracian Gulf, Echiades, the third son of Cypselus, founded the city of Anactorium. Of these colonies Ambracia was the most important, but Leucas also was of great value to Corinth, inasmuch as it commanded the entrance into the Ambracian Gulf. The rites which the Leucadians either founded or continued in honour of Apollo on the promontory of Leucatas, the southern point of their

peninsula, acquired great reputation. The Anactorians erected a temple to the same deity, Apollo Actius, *i.e.* Apollo of the shore, at the northernmost point of their coast, at the narrow entrance into the Ambracian Gulf.[1]

By these colonies Cypselus showed extremely wise forethought for the interests of his citizens; he made the Ambracian Gulf a Corinthian lake. He not only restored to Corinth a market which had been lost, but won for the citizens secure stations for their trade in the proximity of Corcyra, and excellent harbours on the voyage to Sicily. We are not told whether the Corcyræans resisted these settlements, which could not fail to inflict substantial damage on their trade; if they did, they were unable to prevent them. We merely know that about this time, *i.e.* towards the end of the reign of Cypselus,—perhaps with a view of compensating the loss of the market on the Ambracian Gulf,—they cast their eyes on the shores of Illyria, lying north of the Acroceraunian range. The Phocæans had been the first to sail beyond these mountains. On a point

[1] Strabo, pp. 325, 452. Not only Scymnus of Chios, v. 453, but Strabo also, *ll. cc.*, mentions Gorgus, the son of Cypselus, as the founder of Ambracia. That the name was Gorgus is clear from the coins in Raoul Rochette, *Annal. Inst. Arch.* 1, p. 312. In Aristotle he is called Gordius. It harmonises with this that Nicolaus (*Fragm.* 58) ascribes Leucas and Anactorium to the two next sons of Cypselus. In Strabo's more general statement all three cities are given to Gorgus, but from his special statement about Ambracia, as well as from Scymnus (*loc. cit.*), it follows that Gorgus was worshipped as œkist in Ambracia only. On the founding of Leucas, which, according to Strabo, was the first settlement, cf. Scylax, *Peripl.* p. 13; Bœckh, *C.I.G.* i. p. 58. If Themistocles in Plutarch (*Them.* c. 24) speaks of Leucas as a joint colony from Corinth and Corcyra, we might conclude that Cypselus had already subjugated Corcyra. But this is contradicted by the independent foundation of Epidamnus in the year 626 B.C. The Corcyræans must have come to Leucas under Periander or later. When the cities were established the Corcyræans would attempt to get a share in their trade; and, moreover, the statement of Themistocles favours the claims of Corcyra, as Plutarch expressly remarks.

which runs out from the Illyrian coast, in the territory of the Taulantii, the Corcyræans founded Epidamnus. The leader of the colonists was Phalius, the son of Eratoclides, a man of Corinthian descent, of the family of the Heraclidæ; the date of the settlement was 626 B.C. The trade of this new colony with the Illyrians was vigorous; and each year the Epidamnians elected a poletes, a man of proved integrity, to watch over it.[1]

Thus possessed of Corinth, and sovereign over the vassal cities of his sons, Ambracia, Leucas, and Anactorium, Cypselus enjoyed an eminent position. One of the leading nobles of Athens, of the race of the Philaidæ—one of the oldest houses in the land—and a man whom the confidence of his order had twice placed as first archon at the head of Attica (664 and 659 B.C.), sought the hand of the daughter of Cypselus and won it.[2] The means which Cypselus derived from the confiscation of the property of the Bacchiadæ, and which came to him from the harbour or transit dues of Corinth, and the increase of trade in his reign, owing to his colonies, made it possible for him to give a splendid expression to the power which he wielded, in buildings and works of art. The new principates renewed the ancient taste for building, and once more exhibited their power, like the old chiefs of Mycenæ

[1] Thucyd. 1, 24, 25; Plut. *Quæst. Græc.* 29. The year of the foundation is in Euseb. Arm. an. Abrah. 1391 = *Olymp.* 38, 3 = 626 B.C. Thucydides speaks of the Heraclid Phalius as a famous Corinthian. That Cypselus sent œkists to the Corcyræans in order to establish colonies for them, is more than improbable. On the other hand the Bacchiadæ, who fled before Cypselus to Corcyra, would be ready for such enterprises. The Bacchiadæ, as we have seen, *supra*, p. 33, were also called Heraclidæ, and the Epidamnians had an interest in laying stress on the origin of Phalius from Corinth, when, on the ground of being her colonists, they claimed her assistance against Corcyra.

[2] *Infra*, Book 5, chap. 9.

and Orchomenus, in extensive works of architecture. They also furnished work for the art of sculpture, which had recently revived. At Delphi Cypselus erected a building to receive his dedicatory offerings and those of the Corinthians, and consecrated it to the god, according to Plutarch, in gratitude for the divine favour which had prevented him from screaming when concealed in the chest. We may venture to assume that it was a thank-offering that the Delphic god had inspired him to put forth his hand to the crown, and had rewarded his attempt with success. So far as we can see, this was the first of the treasure-houses which was erected at Delphi.[1] No doubt the new structure was adorned with considerable gifts from Cypselus. In any case, his buildings and those of his successors materially improved the architecture of the Corinthians. Corinthian architects were the first to introduce the double gable in the place of the square roof with four sloping sides. Among her titles to glory Pindar proclaims that Corinth gave to the temples of the gods the double eagle.[2]

But the most brilliant proof of his own wealth and the artistic skill of his city which Cypselus gave to the Greeks, was a colossal standing statue of Zeus in gold. This he dedicated at Olympia, and set it up there in the lofty temple of Hera on the Altis. As Corinth and Samos had taken the lead in shipbuilding, so also they were foremost in plastic art, which began to revive among the Greeks after the beginning of the seventh century.[3] But the golden Colossus of Zeus, which we must picture to ourselves in the stiff, Hermes-

[1] This follows from the fact that the dedicatory offerings of Midas of Phrygia and of Gyges of Lydia were contained in it; Herod. 1, 14.

[2] *Olymp.* 13, 21.

[3] Strabo, p. 378.

like attitude of these early attempts, exhibited to the Hellenes at Olympia the piety and the wealth of the Corinthian prince, before Colæus dedicated in the temple of Hera at Samos his huge bronze cauldron, supported by Colossi. The statue of Zeus was beaten out with the hammer, and excited the greatest admiration among the Greeks; they compared it to the great statues of Egypt and to the Pyramids.[1]

The memory of Cypselus has met with the same fortune in the tradition of the Greeks which has fallen to the lot of Phidon of Argos. He is changed into an atrocious tyrant. When the principate had been removed at Corinth and in other cantons of the Greeks, and the nobles were once more the ruling power, they took vengeance for the repression which they had suffered under the tyrants, upon their memories; and when the democracy was strong enough to do without the protection of the tyrants, it followed the example of the nobility. Subsequently aristocracy and democracy vied with each other in branding and covering with cruelties the memory of the princes who made democracy possible in Greece. Here and there, there was more reason to be careful, for the sake of private interests. So far as we can see, the deeds of violence, confiscations, banishments, assassinations, executions, which attended the conflicts of the aristocrats and democrats in Hellas, far surpassed the iniquities of the so-called tyrants. In the mouth of the representative of the restored Corinthian oligarchy, about seventy years after the fall of the Cypselids, Herodotus places the following words, which represent the tradition of the Corinthian nobility:—"When Cypselus became tyrant (*i.e.* after he obtained the supreme dominion), he showed

[1] Plato, *Phædr.* p. 236; Plut. *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 21; *Pyth. Orac.* 13.

his real character; he persecuted a number of Corinthians, robbing many of their possessions and many more of their lives." Though Cypselus may have treated his opponents harshly, these words express the opinion of the defeated party, and the sentiments of later times. In their obvious exaggeration they not only contradict themselves, but are contradicted by the facts, by the colonies founded by Cypselus, and the opposite evidence which Aristotle furnishes of his reign. For the statue of Zeus a considerable amount of gold was required, and for half a century after the time of Cypselus gold was not common in the peninsula. Instead of explaining the possession of it by the rich profits of the harbour dues of Corinth, on which Thucydides and Strabo lay such weight, the Greeks allowed themselves to be deceived by anecdotes of the most extraordinary character. In a treatise, erroneously ascribed to Aristotle, we are told that Cypselus had vowed to Zeus that he would dedicate to him the whole property of the Corinthians if he became master of Corinth. With this object he caused the property of all the Corinthians to be registered, deducted a tenth from it, and bade them trade with the remainder. In the following year he repeated the process, and continued to do so, till in ten years he had collected as much as was entered in the register, and could dedicate the whole sum to Zeus. In the meantime the Corinthians had acquired fresh wealth.[1] Another version applies all these funds to the Zeus-colossus only, which was erected out of the property of the Corinthians collected in this manner.[2] These narratives are intended to explain not merely the value of the offering, but to lay stress on the fact that Cypselus did not give

[1] *Œcon.* 2, 2, 1 = 1346 *a* 32 ff. [2] Suidas, Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα.

it from his own means, but from the unjustly confiscated property of the Corinthians.[1] After their restoration the nobility wished the offering to appear as the gift of the community of the Corinthians, and not of the princes.

[1] Aristotle lends a certain weight to this anecdote when (*Polit.* 5, 9, 4 = 1313 *b* 22) he quotes the offerings of the Cypselids as an instance of the manner in which tyrants impoverished their subjects. This is in contradiction to his general opinion of the rule of the Cypselids (*supra*, p. 351); and the interest of the tyrants lay much more in promoting the prosperity of their people. If they not only crushed the nobility but roused the lower classes against them, they had little prospect of maintaining their position.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REIGN OF PERIANDER.

In the year 625 B.C. Cypselus was succeeded on the newly-erected throne of Corinth by Periander, his oldest and legitimate son, the child of his wife Cratea.[1] His illegitimate sons, Gorgus, Pylades, and Echiades, had been provided for with Ambracia, Leucas, and Anactorium. At the time of his accession Periander is said to have been in his fortieth year.[2] Aristotle speaks of him as an excellent soldier, and Nicolaus tells us that he was constantly occupied with warlike expeditions. Scanty as is our knowledge of his achievements, we perceive that Periander unceasingly[3] advanced the power of Corinth, and extended the sphere of her trade. He succeeded in raising the city to an elevation which she never attained before or after his reign. His successes were far in advance of his father's.

Nicolaus of Damascus states that Periander caused triremes to be built in both the harbours of Corinth,—at Cenchreæ on the Ægean Sea, and Lechæum on the Corinthian Gulf.[4] Hence he directed his attention equally to east and west, and resolved to have a fleet in readiness on either side. It is said to have been

[1] Nicol. Damasc. *Fragm.* 59 M; Diogen. Laert. 1, 94, 96.

[2] Eusebius puts the accession of Periander, an. Abrah. 1387 = *Olymp.* 37, 3 = 630 B.C. We have proved (*supra*, p. 344, note) that the year 585 is to be taken as the year of Periander's death; his reign of forty years brings us to 625 B.C. for his accession.

[3] *Pol.* 5, 9, 2 = 1315 *b* 29; Nicol. Damasc. *Fragm.* 59 M.

[4] Nicol. Damasc. *Frgam.* 59 M.

his intention to cut a canal through the isthmus,[1] an undertaking which would have given rise to the most important consequences.

His father had been content to compensate the loss of Corcyra to Corinth, which the previous oligarchical government had been unable to prevent, by counterbalancing advantages, and, to limit the trade of the island; Periander undertook to put an end to the independence of the stubborn colony, and to re-establish the supremacy of Corinth over the island, which was not only important on its own account, but also for the trade of the west. He succeeded in subjugating it—thus obtaining the greatest success which ever fell to the armies of Corinth in that direction. Following the example of his father, he placed the government of Corcyra in the hands of his son Nicolaus. New settlements were planted in those waters. Two days' journey to the south of Epidamnus, which the Corcyræans had founded on the Illyrian coast, on a fruitful site in the territory of the Taulantians, at no great distance from the mouth of the Aous, a colony of Corinthians was founded,[2] and called Apollonia from the deity which the colonists worshipped most zealously. Two hundred families from Corinth were here settled under the leadership of Gylax. We learn from Aristotle that the constitution of the new city was arranged on an oligarchical basis, *i.e.* the earliest settlers formed the governing body. This arrangement was carefully preserved; the descendants of the founders and noble families governed Apollonia, "few ruling over many,"[3]

[1] Diogen. Laert. 1, 99.

[2] Thucyd. 1, 26; Steph. Byz. 'Απολλωνία; Pausan. 5, 22, 3.

[3] Aristot. *Pol.* 4, 3, 8 = 1290 *b* 11. That the foundation was due to Periander, or occurred in his time, follows from Plut. *Ser. num. vind.* 7.

i.e. over those who subsequently joined the city. Leucas and Anactorium, the colonies of Cypselus, were reinforced.[1] In Epidamnus also, which passed with Corcyra into the hands of Periander, Corinthians were settled;[2] and, on the other hand, Corcyræans were allowed a place among the Corinthian colonists at Leucas and Apollonia.[3] Neither at Apollonia, nór at Anactorium, nor on the peninsula of Leucas, Plutarch remarks, would Hellenes be dwelling, had it not been for the long reign of Periander.[4] From this we may certainly conclude that these colonies were not maintained without constant struggles, fought with varying success.

The naval power of Chalcis and Eretria—cities whose colonies covered the Thracian peninsulas, the east coast of Sicily, and the strait between Sicily and Italy, which, after the decline of the marine of Argos (*i.e.* after Phidon's death) became predominant on the Ægean no less than the western sea—had by this time sunk into decay, owing, it would seem, to the long and severe struggle for the Lelantian plain, and the severe wounds which the two neighbouring cities inflicted on each other. The small city of Megara, which bordered on Corinth, had exhibited an extraordinary power of expansion. On the one hand she was the rival of Corinth in Sicily, founding Sicilian Megara as Corinth founded Syracuse, and establishing a second colony at Selinus on the west coast, shortly before the accession of Periander. On the other hand she had secured the important highway to the Pontus by her settlements at Calchedon and Byzantium, which subsequently received additional strength. But now

1 Plut. *loc. cit.*
2 Thucyd. 1, 24.
3 Müller, *De Corcyr. Rep.* p. 17 *sqq.*
4 Plut. *loc. cit.*

the city was held in check by a wearisome war with Attica for the possession of Salamis. In the eastern waters Corinth had no colonies. Periander fixed his eye on that part of the Thracian coast which the Chalcidians and Eretrians had occupied, and the place which he there chose for a Corinthian settlement does credit to his judgment. Evagoras, according to Nicolaus of Damascus, a son of Periander, led out Corinthian colonists to the peninsula of Pallene. On the narrow neck which connects this peninsula with the mainland—where a wall could easily be thrown from sea to sea—Potidæa, the new city, was built. Though Evagoras fell, the city remained, and grew up in close dependence on Corinth with such vigour that towards the end of the sixth century it far surpassed, in power and importance, all the more ancient foundations on the three promontories of Chalcidice, established by the Chalcidians and Eretrians.[1]

Periander appears to have entered into relations with Psammetichus, the liberator of Egypt from the dominion of Assyria, who, during the reign of Cypselus, had opened Egypt to the Greeks. At any rate, we find the name Psammetichus given to a member of the family of Periander—to the son of his brother Gorgus, who was ruler of Ambracia. That Periander was in connection with Thrasybulus, who had established himself as tyrant of Miletus, the wealthiest and most important of the Ionic cities, is certain. In the severe war in which for twelve years, according to the common account, Miletus resisted Ardys and Sadyattes, the kings of Lydia, Periander is said to have rendered

[1] Nicol. Damasc. *Fragm.* 60 M; Thucyd. 1, 56. The early importance of Potidæa is clear from the fact that it was the only city of the Thracian coast which could make an energetic resistance to the Persians; Herod. 8, 127 ff.

essential service to Thrasybulus. He gave him information that, in consequence of an oracular response which he had received at Delphi, the Lydian king would ask for a suspension of arms with Miletus. By this means he enabled Thrasybulus completely to deceive the Lydians in regard to the condition of Miletus.[1]

As in Corinth so in Epidaurus, the state bordering on Corinth—which Deiphontes had once conquered for the Dorian tribe, and which belonged to the federation once presided over by Argos—the government of the nobles had been overthrown. Procles was now prince of this city. His queen Eristhenea was the daughter of Aristocrates, king of Orchomenus, and belonged to the family of the Cypselids of Arcadia. Periander married Lyside, the daughter of these parents, and gave his wife, as Heraclides Ponticus informs us, the name of Melissa.[2] This connection of the two princely houses served to strengthen and support both. The sons and daughters of Periander and Melissa were already grown up when the death of Melissa, which Periander is said to have caused, broke the connection with Epidaurus, and turned friendship into enmity. Procles took up arms against Periander, apparently to revenge the death of Melissa; Periander defeated him, took him captive, and conquered Epidaurus. This conquest he maintained against the attempt of his son Lycophron, who, in the cause of his mother and grandfather, attempted to establish himself against Periander in Epidaurus (about 600 B.C.).[3] Periander was now monarch of Corinth

[1] *Hist. Ant.* iii. 436.

[2] In Diogen. Laert. 1, 94.

[3] Herod. 3, 50-52; and *infra*, chap. 5. As Periander died at the advanced age of eighty in 585 B.C., and the death of Melissa took place in her pregnancy, her death, and the events which followed it, cannot have taken place long after Periander's sixtieth year—consequently, about 600 B.C.

and Epidaurus. It was a considerable extension of the territory of Corinth,—for the island of Ægina, which belonged to Epidaurus, may have become dependent on Periander, along with the metropolis,—and a serious loss to the federation of Argos, which in Phidon's time had been the old opponent of Corinth. A monument of Procles and Melissa was still to be seen in the time of Pausanias outside the city of Epidaurus.[1]

The position which Periander's triremes at Cenchreæ, and his connections with Ionia, gave him on the Ægean Sea is proved by the fact that the Athenians and Mytilenæans, when at variance about the possession of an important place on the Anatolian coast, left the decision to Periander, and the Mytilenæans, who possessed no inconsiderable power by sea, acquiesced in the sentence of the Corinthian prince, though it was given against them. In the year 610 B.C., the Attic nobles had sent out colonies and possessed themselves of Sigeum, on the coast of the Troad, near the promontory of the same name. For a long time mistress of the Troad, Mytilene attempted to drive out the Athenians by force of arms. A fortress, the Achilleum, was erected in the neighbourhood of Sigeum in order to form a base of operations against the intruders. The war went on with varying success. The Lesbians maintained themselves in the Achilleum. When in the year 590 B.C. Pittacus was made regent of Mytilene, the opposing parties agreed to put an end to the long war by referring the dispute to Periander, who decided that Sigeum must belong to the Athenians, and Tenedos and the Achilleum to the Lesbians. Even in the time of Aristotle the

[1] Pausan. 2, 28, 8.

inhabitants of Tenedos appealed to this decision of Periander against the claims of Sigeum.[1]

If Periander took no part in the wearisome war, undertaken on the resolution of the Amphictyons, against Cirrha and Crisa by the Athenians, Thessalians, and Clisthenes of Sicyon, the western neighbour of Periander (592-583 B.C.), his inaction was due to the rebellion of Corcyra, the subjugation of which falls in the last decade of his reign.

Periander raised Corinth to a position of great importance and prosperity. He again won for the Corinthians the exclusive command of the western sea, and the monopoly of the trade on the coasts of Epirus and Illyria; he supported their trade in the Ægean by colonies and connections, and united Epidaurus with Corinth. The most important proofs of the trade of Corinth with the west are the Corinthian vases of ancient style found in the tombs of Campania and Etruria, and the numerous ancient coins which occur in Acarnania and Sicily. The predominant power of the Chalcidian cities in Sicily and Lower Italy induced Corinth to exchange the Æginetan standard for the Eubœan. The Corinthian staters, discovered in Sicily and Acarnania, are regulated by the Eubœan standard, and merely vary from the old Eubœan coins in the fact that the entire piece, the Eubœan didrachma (stater), was at Corinth divided into three parts, as was also the case at Naxos, Himera, Zancle, and Rhegium.[2] The device on this Corinthian stater is a Pegasus, the cloud-horse, which Bellerophon is said to have bridled at the spring of Pirene at Corinth; beside this we find the Koppa, a

[1] *Infra*, chap. 18; Arist. *Rhetor.* 1, 15, 13 = 1375 *b* 31.

[2] Imhoff, *Monatsberichte d. Berl. Akad.* 1881, s. 658, 659; Hultsch, *Metrologie*, s. 540, 541.

letter which afterwards passed out of use. We may also remark that the Corinthian alphabet of these coins, and the older inscriptions, and the legends on the vases, show that the four Ionic letters had been adopted here in the sixth century, as well as at Argos and Megara.[1]

Periander did not lag behind his father in his reverence for the gods and dedication of rich offerings. In recognition of the favours which the heavenly powers had displayed towards his father, he added a richly adorned chest to the golden colossus of Zeus which Cypselus had dedicated in the Heræum at Olympia.[2] This chest was a large box of cedar wood; the reliefs which adorned it on the outside in five courses, one above the other, were partly cut in wood, and partly made of ivory and gold, which were attached to the surface. They displayed to the Greeks the forms of their gods and heroes, with explanatory verses written in the manner called Bustrophedon. Here Apollo might be seen surrounded by the Muses, singing, with the inscription: "This is the son of Leto, the far-darting Apollo, round him is the lovely choir of the Muses, whom he leads." Here also was Ares in armour, leading away Aphrodite, and Dionysus reclining in a cavern, with a bearded face, clad in a long garment, and holding a golden goblet in his hand, round him were vines, apples, and pomegranates. Farther on was Justice, a beautiful female form, who

[1] Vol. i. p. 370; Kirchhoff, *Studien*[3], s. 88 ff.

[2] Suidas, Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα. Pausanias, 5, 17, 5, says that the "posterity of Cypselus" dedicated the chest; but as there was only one Cypselid on the throne after Periander,—Psammetichus, who ruled for a short time,—he can hardly have set up such an offering. The statement does not exclude the possibility that Periander dedicated it in the name of all the Cypselids.

beats with her stick Injustice, an ugly woman; and Night carrying two boys, Sleep and Death, one on each arm, the first white and the second dark. In other pictures were Zeus and Alcmena, and their son Heracles, shooting his arrows among the wild Centaurs, who are exhibited in the older form, a complete human body with the hinder quarters of a horse attached to it. Heracles was seen fighting with the triple giant Geryon, or beside Atlas, who carried the heavens on his shoulders, or at the funeral games of Pelias of Iolcus—games which Stesichorus of Himera about this time celebrated in a great poem. Jason stood between Aphrodite and Medea. In another picture he was represented wrestling at the games, where also was Admetus of Pheræ in the chariot race, outstripped by Iolaus with his chariot. There also was Theseus, lyre in hand, and near him Ariadne with a crown, and the Dioscuri, who, together with Æthra, take Helen from Theseus, and carry her out of Attica. Amphiaraus of Argos stands with one foot in the chariot, which is to carry him to the fateful struggle at Thebes; with angry eyes, a naked sword in his hand, he looks back on his wife Eriphyle. Eteocles was represented in conflict with Polynices; behind the hostile brother stood the Fate (Kêr), a woman of horrible aspect, with the tusks of a ravening beast, and talons instead of nails. Then came the chariot of Pelops with the winged horse of Poseidon, and behind it the car of Œnomaus. The Trojan circle of legend was not forgotten. Peleus and Thetis were depicted; in one place Hermes brought the three goddesses before Alexander, in another was Agamemnon fighting before Troy. On his shield was a figure with a lion's head, and the inscription: "This is the terror of men; he who bears it is Agamemnon."

There Ajax of Salamis was represented in single combat with Hector, and behind both was Eris with an awful mien. Thetis, too, might be seen, and her Nereids, receiving from Hephæstus the new armour for Achilles. Achilles was there in conflict with Memnon; beside the first stood Thetis, beside the other Eos. Lastly, there was a picture of the fall of Troy. Menelaus with drawn sword rushes on his faithless wife, and Ajax, the Locrian, in frantic passion tears Cassandra from the statue of Athena. Odysseus was seen in the cave of Circe, whose maidens were busied with female tasks; Nausicaa and her companions on the mule-car, driving to the washing-pits. Perseus also, and Medusa were represented. Such were the reliefs which adorned this wonderful chest. The later Greeks regarded it as the self-same box in which Labda had successfully hidden her child from the attempt of the Bacchiadæ.[1] It was a witness, not less eloquent than the Colossus of Cypselus, of the love of art and the wealth of the new rulers of Corinth, and of the skill of their workmen.

Under Periander's rule Corinth became not only the most important mart for trade in Hellas, but also the head of a great naval power, the home of poetic and artistic efforts of no mean order, and by this means a centre of Hellenic life. It gave expression to this new position when Periander made Corinth the seat of a great national contest. Clisthenes, the king of the neighbouring city of Sicyon, had obtained great glory in the sacred war against Crisa; the successful end of the long war, after the capture of Crisa, and subsequently of Cirrha, was signalised by the extension of the great Pythian sacrifice into Panhellenic games.

[1] Pausan. 5, 17, 18, 19.

Clisthenes himself had won a victory there with his chariot and four horses. In the ancient sanctuary of Poseidon on the isthmus, by the shore of the Saronic Gulf, near the Bay of Schœnus, *i.e.* of the reed, to the north of Cenchreæ, the Ionians had offered sacrifice to the god of the sea long before the time at which Corinth and the isthmus had been taken from them by the Dorians. Theseus is said to have founded or renewed this sacrifice after the liberation of the isthmus.[1] The new community which the Dorian immigrants founded at Corinth offered the old sacrifice to Poseidon, for it was the custom of the Greeks to pay honour to the protecting deities of every district. As the trade of Corinth grew, and the number of the merchants and strangers thronging to the isthmus increased in the reign of Periander, the number of those who participated in the sacrifice of Poseidon became greater also,[2] the fair connected with it more important. It was natural at such a concourse from the cantons and towns of east and west, north and south, to add games for all the Hellenes to the ancient sacrifice. Corinth was thus elevated into a distinct centre of Hellenic life. The god of the sea, to whom the city and the Hellenes owed so much, received his fitting, well-deserved honours beside Zeus at Olympia and Apollo at Delphi. In the year 590 B.C. gymnastic games had been added, with the co-operation of the prince of Sicyon, to the customary contests of harpers at the great autumnal festival at Delphi. Was Periander to remain behind the neighbouring king of so small a town as Sicyon? The great offering of a bull was made to Poseidon at the end of the summer.[3] It was now to be rendered more splendid in each second

[1] Vol. i. p. 110. [2] Strabo, p. 378. [3] *Poet. Lyr.* Bergk, p. 18.

and fourth year of the Olympic cycle by gymnastic contests of men and youths, in all the traditional forms, by musical contests and horse-races, to which all Hellenes were to be invited by proclamation of the festival-peace. In this way was the festival held for the first time in the year 587 B.C. The contests were held on "the ridges girdled by the sea," as Pindar says, "on the bridge of the restless ocean," "before the walls of Corinth," "in the wooded gorge of the isthmus," in and near the grove of tall pine-trees which surrounded the shrine of Poseidon to the west of the isthmus. The prize of the victor is said to have been a crown of green parsley.[1] As Theseus was thought to have founded the Isthmian sacrifice to Poseidon, and the princes of Athens, at an earlier time, when the north coast of the Peloponnesus was still inhabited by Ionians, had had a prominent share in the sacrifice, a place of honour was allotted to the Athenians in the newly-arranged and extended festival. The sacred embassy, and indeed any one who came from the city, was allowed to stand nearest the altar at the sacrifice, and Athens could claim as much space there as the sail of the ship could cover, which brought her theori and victims to the isthmus.[2]

[1] Pindar, *Nem.* 4, 88; *Olymp.* 13, 33; Strabo, p. 380. The crown of pine was introduced at a very late date; Plut. *Quæst. Conv.* 5, 3, 2.

[2] So, doubtless, we have to understand Hellanicus and Andron in Plut. *Theseus*, 25. Eusebius puts the beginning of the Isthmia in *Olymp.* 49, 4 = 581 B.C.; Jerome in 50, 1 = 580 B.C.; both in the year 1436 Abrah. Both maintain that the Isthmian and Pythian games began in the same year. From the statement of Solinus that the Corinthians had restored the festival—which Cypselus did not celebrate—to its ancient splendour (7, 14, Mommsen), it is clear that the Corinthians did not wish their kings to have the credit of founding the Isthmian games; hence the foundation is brought down below the deposition of Psammetichus. It is true that the Armenian Eusebius puts the overthrow of the Cypselids as early as 586 B.C., but by this he means, as has been remarked, the death of Periander. As the death of Periander in 585 B.C. is relatively one of the most certain dates, as we know from

The management of the games and the arrangement of the combatants belonged to Corinth.

Under the government of the nobles, the worship of the Agrarian deities had fallen into the background; their services were chiefly devoted to the deities of battle. With the rise of the new principate, which rested on the support of the citizens and peasants, the worship of the gods of the country, who gave increase to the field, the fruit-trees, and the vineyard, obtained a wider area. It was the interest of these princes, who had risen to power as leaders of the people, to cherish rites which were not hereditary in noble families, and could be practised without calling in the hereditary priesthoods of the nobles. It was not less their interest to show that the state when thus reconstructed had its protecting deities, and was not without its own gods. From this feeling Periander was favourable to the worship of Dionysus. It happened that he had a poet

Aristotle that Psammetichus only reigned three years and six months after him, the dates given in Eusebius and Jerome mark the overthrow of Psammetichus rather than the beginning of the games. In his short reign, from all that we know of him, Psammetichus was not in a position to inaugurate Panhellenic games; and the aristocracy, on its restoration after his death, had other things to think of. Not to speak of the domestic situation, Corcyra, like Epidaurus, at once revolted. The better adapted was the influence of Periander to establish such an institution. Hence I adhere to the opinion that the games at the isthmus began in the last years of Periander, and in the new arrangements of the Pythia, under Clisthenes, I see the impulse which led to the founding of the Isthmia soon after the first new Pythiad, *i.e.* the festival of the year 590 B.C. (see *infra*, p. 404, note 2). In support of this, I quote the official order of the games—Olympia, Pythia, Isthmia, Nemea; and the fact that Solon's legislation, which cannot be brought down later than 580 B.C., is distinctly asserted to have given a state prize to the victor at the Isthmia. As the celebration of the Isthmia fell on the second and fourth year of the current Olympiad, the first Isthmia must have been celebrated in the years 587, 585, 583, 581 B.C. Syncellus quotes side by side Thales' prediction of an eclipse—that of 585 is meant—the end of the monarchy in Corinth, the beginning of the Isthmia and Pythia, the seven sages of Greece, 453 Bonn.

at his court who could render him excellent service in this matter. Terpander of Lesbos had established choric hymns, and by so doing had given Greece a religious music. In his own home a successor had arisen who had gone even farther in the same direction —Arion of Methymna. Like Terpander, he made the hymn his starting-point; he too was a singer of hymns, and passed for the first harp-player of his day.[1] He made a favourite of the solemn, stirring strain which the Greeks called the *Nomos Orthios*, and which was considered to be the invention of Terpander. But in the composition, arrangement, and practice of choric songs, Arion rendered even greater service.[2] In the Cyclades, so productive of wine—above all, in Naxos and Paros—and in the islands off the Anatolian coast, Dionysus can hardly have failed at any time to receive a fitting measure of thanks; as a giver of wine, the giver and spirit of the sacrificial liquor must have been zealously worshipped. In Lesbos Terpander had sung the praises of this deity.[3] The hymn to Dionysus was always sung in a specially elevated strain; when invoking the god, men were filled with his gifts.[4] In a lively and vehement style, distinct from other hymns, and therefore denoted by the peculiar name of the Dithyramb, passionate songs celebrated the giver of the intoxicating drink. Arion, in thus following the pattern of Terpander, moderated the wild excitement of the Dithyramb. He made the song choral, and when the worship of Dionysus was restored by Periander, adopted the plan of other rites in introducing choric songs. The unregulated move-

[1] *Supra*, p. 100. [2] Herod. 1, 23.

[3] Terpander, *Fragm.* 8 Bergk.

[4] Archilochus, *Fragm.* 77; *Schol.* Pind. *Olymp.* 13, 25.

ment of the Dithyramb was chastened by this change; according to their contents, Arion apportioned the separate strophes of his Dithyrambic chorale to separate divisions of the chorus, which recited it when stationed round the altar of Dionysus. He even went farther, and began to adorn the chorus with holiday attire, clothing the singers in the garments of the satyrs, who were the attendants of Dionysus. Thus did Corinth hear and see the first Dionysiac chorus, which Arion trained under the protection of Periander, and in this new form greater importance and higher dignity accrued to the worship of the ancient giver of the intoxicating sacrificial draught. Under the rule of the aristocracy, it had sunk down to a mere country festival, at which, in the spring, the peasants in their fields invoked the deity to grant an abundant harvest, and in the autumn paid their thanks to him after the vintage in tipsy glee.[1]

The Greeks relate a marvellous story about the power of the poet's song, who, at the court of Periander, not only placed the worship of Dionysus on a level with the worship of the other gods, but even distinguished it by special forms. Arion set out, so the legend ran, from Corinth to Italy and Sicily, and there amassed considerable wealth by his singing. When returning, he embarked on a Corinthian ship at Tarentum. Eager to possess his wealth, the mariners resolved to put the poet to death; they allowed him to choose whether he would take his own life on board ship or leap into the sea. Then Arion put on the robe which he was accustomed to wear in musical

[1] Herod. 1, 23; Arist. in Photius, p. 320 Bekker; Suidas, Ἀρίων; *Schol.* Arist. *Aves*, 1403. The date of Arion is fixed by that of Periander. Suidas puts him, *Olymp.* 38 = 628; Eusebius, *Olymp.* 42, 3 = 610 B.C.; Jerome, *Olymp.* 40, 1 = 620 B.C.

contests, took his harp, and retired to the stern-deck. Overawed, the sailors retired from the stern to the middle of the vessel. Arion sang the *Nomos Orthios*, and when he had finished sprang into the sea. The mariners sailed on their way to Corinth, but a dolphin took Arion on his back, and carried him to Tænarum. When he arrived at Corinth, Periander would not believe his story. He kept him in custody till the ship came into the harbour of Lechæum. Then he caused the crew to be brought before him, and asked what news they had of Arion. When they replied that they had left him alive and well at Tarentum, Arion came forward in the same robe in which he had leapt into the sea. They were overcome with terror, and could no longer deny their crime. "Such is the story," says Herodotus, "which the Corinthians and Lesbians tell; and at Tænarum stands the large dedicatory offering of Arion in bronze,—a man seated on a dolphin."[1]

This statue Pausanias saw: "Arion, the harper, on the dolphin."[2] Ælian has preserved the inscription, which could be read on the statue, and the ode which Arion composed on his escape. The inscription ran as follows: "By the gracious guidance of the Immortals this vessel saved the son of Cycleus, Arion, from the Sicilian sea;" and the ode: "Supreme of deities, ruler of the sea, lord of the golden trident, supporter of the earth in the salt sea. Round thee dance in circle the creatures floating on their fins, rising aloft with the light stroke of their feet, the snub-nosed creatures with bristling necks, the swift dolphins, which love the Muses, the water-nurslings of the maiden goddesses, of the Nereids, whom Amphitrite bore. Ye carried me, whom the Sicilian sea swept away, on your

[1] Herod. 1, 24; Plut. *Sept. Sap. Conv.* c. 18. [2] Pausan. 3, 25, 7.

arched backs, to the Tænarian coast in the land of Pelops; ye made furrows through the level surface of Nereus, of the pathless ocean, when evil men had cast me out of the round, sea-traversing ship into the dark foaming waves of the sea."[1]

The language of the supposed inscription shows that it is neither old nor genuine. Arion is called the son of Cycleus, *i.e.* the "Circler,"—a father whom the Greeks obviously gave him, because he introduced the chorus round the altar into the worship of Dionysus. The ode, which is of no inconsiderable poetical value, is composed in the style of Arion. With the Greeks the dolphin was regarded as an animal fond of music.[2] It was also a symbol of the quiet sea, and of rescue from the dangers of the waves. It was sacred to Apollo, who pacified the waves by his beams of light; and in the form of a dolphin Apollo is said to have conducted a ship of the Cretans to Crisa. The dolphin was not only seen on the surface of the sea when shining in the clear light of the sun; he came around the ships when sailing, and hastened joyously before their swift course. He seemed to direct them to port. Owing to their rapid and prosperous voyages, Pindar compares the Æginetans to dolphins. Among the Greeks it was believed that these fishes danced joyously round ships whenever music was played for them.[3] Out of such conceptions, and the feeling that poets and minstrels were under the special protection of the gods, and more especially of Apollo—out of the fact that Arion happily escaped the dangers of a voyage, and dedicated an offering to Poseidon for his safety, which represented his rescue in a poetical and symbolic manner—the

[1] Ælian, *Nat. Anim.* 12, 45. [*Fragm.* 1 B.] [2] Plut. *Soll. Anim.* 36.
[3] Pind. in Plut. *Tranquill. Anim.* 13; and *Soll. Anim.* 36.

Greek mind, ever in search of the marvellous, created the beautiful story of Arion and the dolphin. On the promontory of Tænarum the god of the sea possessed an ancient seat of worship in a cave by the shore. It was natural that the dolphin should carry Arion to land there. The coins of Methymna in Lesbos, the native city of Arion—where the legends represent Enalus, one of the first colonists of Lesbos, as rescued by a dolphin from the sea—exhibit Arion on the dolphin. The city was proud of the poet, and of the man who had received such a distinguishing mark of divine favour.[1]

In the tradition of the Greeks Periander's life and actions have been reflected in two lights, widely differing from each other. On the one hand he is celebrated as a prudent, wise, keen-sighted man, one of the Seven Sages whom the Greeks revered as the founders of all their knowledge of men and nature, as the examples and teachers of their proverbial wisdom; on the other he is described as one of the most infamous of tyrants.

Aristotle tells us of him that he was skilful in war, but tyrannical; most of the regulations which were laid down for the preservation of a tyranny were referred to Periander.[2] When Thrasybulus became master of Miletus, and inquired from Periander how he might best secure his position, Periander, as Aristotle relates, took the messenger into a cornfield. Here he broke off all the ears which rose above the rest, and thus made the cornfield level; then he dismissed the

[1] Welcker, *Kleine Schriften*, Bd. 1, s. 89, 92 ff. But in the inscription of Thera, δελφίς and nothing else is certain; Franz, *Epigr.* p. 51. The coins of Tarentum exhibit Taras, the eponym of the city, on a dolphin; those of Jassus have a boy on a dolphin.

[2] *Pol.* 5, 9, 2 = 1313 *a* 37.

messenger without any answer to his question. Thrasybulus understood the hint that on occasions of this kind no third person should be in the secret, and perceived that the advice given was, that he must remove all prominent persons if he wished to retain his power. "This advice," says Aristotle, "is not to be entirely blamed. Oligarchies and democracies proceeded in a similar manner. Those who became masters of the government suppressed eminent persons or banished them. This was not done merely in cities in which the constitution was still progressing, but where it was settled; in the former for the sake of individual advantage, in the latter at the wish of the community. The same object was obtained by ostracism, so that in this matter the absolute ruler agrees with the republic. In tribes, also, those who are in power act in the same manner."[1]

In Herodotus we are told that Periander was at first a milder ruler than his father, but afterwards he showed the worst traits, and removed those who remained after the executions of Cypselus.[2] From Diogenes Laertius we learn that Aristotle and Ephorus state that Periander changed the government of his father into a tyrannis, surrounded himself with a bodyguard, and did not permit every one to live in Corinth.[3] Ephorus further related that he vowed a golden statue in case he was victorious with his chariot and four at Olympia. The victory was declared in his favour. As he had no gold, he took advantage of a festival which the women of Corinth attended in their orna-

[1] Aristot. *Pol.* 3, 8, 3-6 = 1284 *a* 26; cf. 5, 8, 7 = 1311 *a* 20. In Herod. 5, 92, Periander puts the question to Thrasybulus. Such a question would not be asked by a man who inherited his power, but by one who had just seized it; hence Aristotle must be preferred to Herodotus.

[2] Herod. 5, 92.

[3] Diog. Laert. 1, 98.

ments, to strip them, and out of the spoils he dedicated the statue.[1] Heraclides of Ponticus gives the following account: Periander changed the mode of government, kept a bodyguard, did not permit people to live in the city, forbade the sale of slaves, and put down extravagance. In other ways he governed with moderation, imposed taxes upon no one, but contented himself with the dues of the markets and harbours. He was neither violent nor unjust; it was the bad only whom he persecuted; all procuresses he caused to be thrown into the sea. Lastly, he established a board whose business it was to take care that the citizens did not spend beyond their incomes.[2] Hermippus also related the drowning of the procuresses.[3] In Nicolaus of Damascus we read: "Periander, being a man of cruel and violent character, changed the monarchy which he inherited from his father into a tyranny. He kept a bodyguard of 300 men, forbade the citizens to purchase slaves, and live in idleness. He was always finding some occupation for them. Those who sat about in the market-place he punished, in the belief that they were laying plots against him."[4]

From these accounts it is difficult to draw a picture of the way in which Periander ruled at Corinth. We must keep to the general statement of Aristotle that the Cypselids conducted themselves with moderation towards their subjects, and for the most part governed by law, but that Periander was more severe than his father. This change is proved by the unanimous tradition that he kept a bodyguard; if, indeed, the tyrannical conduct of Periander is not rather to be

[1] Diog. Laert. 1, 96. [2] Her. Pont. 5 M. [3] In Athenæus, p. 443.
[4] Nicol. Damasc. *l. c.* Suidas, *sub voce* Περίανδρος, has exactly the same, no doubt borrowed from Nicolaus.

derived from this guard with which he surrounded himself. We may certainly assume that he drew the reins more tightly than his father. The statement that he forbade the purchase of slaves may mean that he did not allow the larger manufacturers to make the competition too severe for the small artisan,—or at least threw difficulties in their way.[1] The drowning of the procuresses was a cruel, but, at the same time, a useful regulation of moral police. The number of Hetæræ in the temple of Aphrodite at Corinth was very large; and how dangerous they were to foreign sailors is proved by the proverb: "A trip to Corinth is not for every man."[2] The law against extravagance, the limitation of the right to settle in Corinth, may have been founded on sufficient reasons. What Herodotus relates of the executions of Periander, which cut off all whom Cypselus had left, belongs to the later version of the aristocracy, whose power Cypselus had broken. The story of the theft of the ornaments from the women in order to find gold for the statue is one of the inventions previously noticed (p. 358). We may assume as certain that Periander had no reason to impose a tax to supply means for his personal expenses or for the government. The trade of Corinth, which grew so rapidly under his power, furnished ample resources in the dues of the markets and harbours, as Heraclides states, for the requirements of the administration, and the support of the fleets in the eastern and western seas. From the same source would be derived the sums necessary for dedicatory offerings. Least of all must we leave out of sight the fact that it is the older tradition which includes Periander among the seven wise men; his

[1] Busolt, *Lakedæmonier*, s. 201. [2] Strabo, p. 378.

infamous actions belong to later legend. We have already seen whence the change came. Moreover, we may maintain that such men as Solon of Athens and Pittacus of Lesbos would never have elected Periander, least of all in his later years, as they did, to be an arbitrator for their cities, if he had been the tyrant which tradition represents him. What great care he took for the advancement of trade and manufacture has been already shown. It may be strongly urged against him that he failed, either for want of knowledge or power, to secure in a sufficient degree for himself and his successors on the throne the support of the lower classes, which were the basis of the new principate. For this object he should have allowed those classes an active part in civic life, and sought to educate them by this means, that they might be in a position to support the royal house actively as well as passively. Whether Periander was deficient in foresight or in strength of character, or whether the position of affairs prevented him from entering upon such paths, we cannot now determine.

CHAPTER V.

RESTORATION OF THE OLIGARCHY AT CORINTH.

ARISTIPPUS of Cyrene, the grandson of the pupil of Socrates of the same name, who related a number of scandalous stories about the sages and philosophers in his book on the Vices of Eminent men in Antiquity, relates of Periander that he carried on in secret an incestuous commerce with his mother Cratea, and when this was known, he became cruel from his rage at the discovery. According to another version, the incest took place without Periander being aware that it was his mother. When he discovered it he wished to put her to death, but an apparition restrained him, and his mother took her own life. Plutarch only tells us that his mother took her life out of love to him. Periander is also said to have caused his own death. Of this and the means which he took to conceal his grave we have the following account: He commanded two youths to proceed along a certain road by night, to slay the man whom they met and bury him; four others he bade follow these two on the same road and put them to death, and finally he sent others after the four. He met the two first-mentioned youths in the night, and thus came by his death.[1]

Of Periander's conduct to his wife Melissa horrible

[1] Parthen *Narr. Amat.* 17; Plut. *Sept. Sap.* 2; Diogen. Laert. 1, 95, 96.

and marvellous stories were told. Periander saw her, the daughter of the prince of Epidaurus, in a Peloponnesian garb, in a chiton without a mantle, pouring out wine for the labourers. Seized with passion for her, he carried her home. Such is the story told by Pythænetus.[1] Diogenes Laertius tells us that when Melissa had borne two sons to Periander, Cypselus and Lycophron, he struck her with a footstool, infuriated by some calumny of a concubine, or kicked her, when she was with child.[2] Herodotus' account is as follows: When Periander had killed Melissa and insulted her body, he sent to the oracle of the dead among the Thesprotians to inquire of the spirit of Melissa where she had placed a sum of money deposited by a friend. Melissa appeared, but replied that she would not say where the deposit was, for she was cold and naked. The garments buried with her were useless, for they had not been burned with her. Then Periander commanded all the women in Corinth to repair to the temple of Hera (on the slope of Acrocorinthus).[3] The women thought that a festival was to be celebrated, and came in their fairest attire. The guards of Periander took the clothes away from them all, free women or slaves; they were collected together and burned with prayer in a grave. And when Periander sent a second time to the Thesprotians, Melissa told where the deposit was.[4]

After the death of Melissa, her father, Procles, king of Epidaurus, summoned to him his grandsons, Cypselus and Lycophron, the children of Melissa, and asked them whether they knew who murdered their

[1] In Athenæus, p. 589. [2] Diogen. Laert. 1, 94. [3] Vol. i. p. 61.

[4] Her. 5, 92; Diogen. Laert. 1, 100. Plutarch ("*Non posse suaviter vivi*," c. 26) has merely the narrative of Herodotus in his mind.

mother. From that time Lycophron, the younger son, for the elder was weak in intellect, no longer conversed with his father, and if he asked him a question he made no reply. Periander refused Lycophron his house, and commanded those who had received him not to shelter him. Any one who received Lycophron into his house or conversed with him was to pay a certain fine to Apollo. Lycophron now remained solitary and famishing in the porticoes, and Periander, touched with compassion, sought to induce him to come into his house. But Lycophron only answered that, as his father had spoken to him, he must pay the fine to Apollo. Then Periander sent his son to Corcyra. Time passed on; Periander became an old man, and felt himself no longer in a position to carry on the government. He sent for Lycophron to take the throne. Lycophron vouchsafed no answer to the messenger of his father. In vain did Periander send the sister to turn her brother's purpose. Lycophron declared that he would never go to Corinth so long as his father survived. Then Periander sent a third time, offering that Lycophron should come to be king of Corinth, and he would go to Corcyra. Upon this Lycophron agreed to go. Periander prepared to sail to Corcyra, and Lycophron to Corinth. But the Corcyræans were afraid of Periander, and slew Lycophron. Periander avenged the death of his son. He took 300 sons of the first families in Corcyra, and sent them to Alyattes of Lydia to be made eunuchs. When the Corinthian ships, with the boys on board, landed at Samos, the Samians urged the boys to take refuge at the shrine of Artemis (at Imbrasus), and refused to allow their conductors to carry them away. The Corinthians watched the temple, but the Samians made a festival

which they still celebrate in the same manner. When it was night, choruses of boys and girls, provided with cakes of sesame and honey, proceeded to the temple that the boys might seize the food. This went on till the Corinthians were weary of keeping guard before the temple, and sailed home. The Samians sent the boys back to Corcyra.[1]

The three accounts given by Plutarch, Diogenes, and Parthenius, of the love which Periander's mother bore to him, place the occurrence in the time of his reign. Periander did not ascend the throne till he was forty; his mother must at this time have been at the least sixty years of age. The legend, therefore, falls to the ground. The story of the attire of the Corinthian women has been already related by Ephorus in another connection and for another object (p. 378). In this we see a second attempt to claim for the Corinthians the merit of the offerings of the Cypselids. In Herodotus the theft takes place when the spirit of Melissa has declared that she is naked and cold. This spirit of the woman whom he has slain Periander summons, not to appease her, but to discover what has become of the deposit of a friend. In order to obtain information from Melissa on this point, the women of Corinth are deprived of their garments and ornaments at the festival of Hera. According to the statement of Herodotus, Periander's sons are seventeen and eighteen years of age at the death of Melissa. The event took place before their eyes. Yet in this narrative it is the grandfather who calls their attention to what has happened. Then Lycophron refuses to speak to his father; the mutual relations became more and more strained. Periander sends the perverse

[1] Herod. 3, 48-53.

son to Corcyra, thus doing the most foolish thing possible. For what could be more foolish than to send the rebellious son to Corcyra, the most important and influential possession of Corinth, and at the same time the most uncertain, owing to the remembrance of its lost independence? Lycophron and the Corcyræans would have been brought together by their common dislike to Periander; the most dangerous leader, the heir of the king, would have been placed at the head of a rebellion in Corcyra. By such conduct Periander would have offered rebellion to his son and the Corcyræans. Again, how came the Corcyræans to slay Lycophron? That they should do so from fear of the tyrant, as Herodotus suggests, is impossible, for they were under his rule whether he was in Corinth or Corcyra. The murder of Lycophron was not the way to keep Periander at a distance, but to bring him upon them. If they were really so terrified at the sight of Periander, it would have been easier, less dangerous, and far more to the purpose, if we assume the facts to be as Herodotus represents, to induce Lycophron at the right time, by kindness or pressure, to comply with his father's wishes, and go to Corinth — not to kill him. This assassination of Lycophron, whom Herodotus describes as gentle and inoffensive in character, and who in a few years would have succeeded his father—then an old man, and unequal to the cares of government—becomes, as Herodotus describes it, a blunder of inconceivable perversity. In one way or another Lycophron would have secured a more prosperous future for the Corcyræans.

The connection of affairs must have been different. Tradition tells us of the impression made upon Periander by the sight of Lyside, of the calumnies of the concu-

bine, of the fury in which Periander fatally injures his beloved wife, of the passion which carried him to her dead body, of the summoning of the spirit of Melissa, of the retribution which overtook Periander in the alienation of his son. We hear in detail, in Herodotus, conversations between father and son: the son is not to be angry with the father for the misdeed of which he is undoubtedly guilty; and between sister and brother: the mother is not to be preferred to the father. Lastly, we have the extraordinary account of the manner in which Periander seeks his own death. Putting these accounts together, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the account which Herodotus gives is derived from some poetical source. The poem told of the love of Periander for Melissa, of the complications which brought about her death, of the punishment of Periander by the son of the murdered woman, his desolation and remorse, and the despair which drove him to his death.

We are justified in preferring the account of Nicolaus, which, no doubt, goes back to Ephorus, to this poetical source. From this we learn that when Periander was old all his sons were dead—Evagoras, who had led the colonists to Potidæa; Lycophron, who had been slain in attempting to establish a principate among the Periœci; Gorgus, who had been killed by a fall from his chariot; and Nicolaus. The last, who was the gentlest of them all, was treacherously murdered by the Corcyræans. Periander was anxious to secure the throne to his house; and in the idea that the Corinthians, though they might rebel against himself, would be content to have Nicolaus, owing to his mild disposition, as their king, he resolved to go to Corcyra, and hand Corinth over to Nicolaus. Some Corcyræans perceived his intention, and, as they wished to set

Corcyra free, and feared the arrival of Periander, they rebelled and slew Nicolaus. Periander collected his forces, landed on Corcyra, took the city, caused fifty of those who had had a share in the murder to be hanged, and sent their sons to the king of Lydia to be made eunuchs. He returned to Corinth, handing over Corcyra to Psammetichus, the son of his brother Gorgus.

From this it is perfectly clear that Periander had placed his sons in command of Potidæa and Corcyra, as Cypselus had done in the case of Ambracia, Leucas, and Anactorium. We do not require the elaborate motives supplied by Herodotus and Nicolaus to account for the death of Nicolaus in Corcyra. The Corcyræans attempted to throw off the dominion of Periander, and began their rebellion with the murder of the son and viceroy of Periander. Periander crushed the rebellion; he proceeded with severity, and placed his nephew over the island as a new viceroy in the room of his murdered son. There is no reason to doubt that he took hostages from the leading families. Similar means for securing the obedience of subjects were often adopted by other princes, and by the aristocracies and democracies of Hellas. On other occasions also similar hostages were sent away as far as possible. That the boys were sent to Alyattes for mutilation is a fact added by later Corinthian tradition in order to put a black mark upon Periander. The obedience of the leading families was only secured so long as they had hopes of recovering their sons; if they lost them altogether, it was at an end.

In the account of Nicolaus we read that Lycophron perished in the attempt to establish a power among the Periœci. If we connect this fact with the statement

of Herodotus that Procles, king of Epidaurus, roused Lycophron against his father, and the position which Lycophron takes up towards his father in the same historian, and with the statement that Procles made war upon Periander, was defeated and taken prisoner, we may explain it as follows: Lycophron took the part of his grandfather against his father; he attempted to gain the Epidaurians, whom Periander's victory had made the Perioeci of the Corinthians, and perished in the undertaking. Hence Periander, after fighting against his father-in-law and one of his sons in Epidaurus, had to avenge the death of another son in Corcyra.

Periander must bear the guilt of the death of Melissa. The war which Procles declares, the attitude which Lycophron takes up in tradition towards Periander, are evidence for that. The story that he stripped the Corinthian women of their clothes and ornaments may be explained to mean that Periander instituted a splendid funeral in honour of Melissa, and commanded the women of Corinth to mourn with him, and place garments and ornaments in the tomb of Melissa.[1] According to the account of Herodotus, who in this matter follows the version of the Samians, and in that of Nicolaus, the Samians have the credit of saving the hostages of Corcyra from being delivered up to Alyattes. Another statement asserts that the Samians were anxious to save the hostages, but were unable to do so. It was the Cnidians who armed their ships, drove the soldiers of Periander from the shrine, and carried the children back to Corcyra. It was not the Samians,

[1] Plut. "*Non posse suaviter vivi*," 26. "Periander caused the ornaments to be burned with his wife, who asked for them, and said that she was cold."

but the Cnidians, whom the Corcyræans remembered, and to whom they gave tokens of honour and freedom from tolls in gratitude for these acts.[1] In any case the hostages could not return to Corcyra so long as the dominion of Periander or the Cypselids lasted.

If the scandalous stories related of Periander existed in the sixth century it is inconceivable that he should be classed among the wise men at Delphi before the end of it, acquire the reputation of a teacher of practical wisdom, and become the authority for rules which were useful in preserving a monarchy, as Aristotle tells us that he was. In Herodotus, when the representative of the later oligarchy of Corinth is speaking before the assembly of the allies of Sparta, who are attempting to force a tyrant at the point of the sword upon Athens, and describing the sufferings of Corinth under her tyrants, beyond the vague accusation that Periander put to death those whom Cypselus had spared, which is refuted by its own exaggeration, he can only mention the stripping of the Corinthian women to please the dead Melissa. In my opinion, this is a proof that after the restoration of the oligarchical rule tradition could not supply any political acts to blacken the memory of the tyrants. Hence it had recourse to the family life of Periander, about which it spread abroad exaggerations and inventions beyond the reach of criticism. When these stories of the Corinthian nobility, and the poem followed by Herodotus, were accepted and believed, it is not strange that Plato removed Periander from the number of the sages;[2] and the attempt was made to explain the tyrant Periander and the sage Periander to be two different persons. The

[1] Antenor and Dionysius of Chalcis, *De Malignitate Herodoti*, 22.

[2] *Protagoras*, p. 343.

sage is said to have been Periander of Ambracia, a second son of Gorgus. Aristotle contradicted this opinion, and stated distinctly that the sage and the tyrant were one and the same person.[1]

Advanced in years, but governing with vigour even to the last, as is proved by his decision between Athens and Mytilene, by the suppression of the rebellion in Corcyra, and the extension of the Isthmian sacrifice into a Panhellenic festival, Periander died. If we are told that he went to his grave amid domestic troubles, such a close was required by the scheme of the poem. In truth, he had causes enough for remorse and sorrow: for remorse at the death of Melissa, for sorrow that he left behind him no son who could inherit his dominion over Corinth and Epidaurus, over Ægina, Corcyra, Apollonia, Epidamnus, Ambracia, Leucas, and Anactorium, and the angry nobility of Corinth. It is not the least proof of the insight and power with which Periander conducted the government, and the firmness with which he established his power, that his nephew Psammetichus, the son of his natural brother Gorgus, could ascend the throne without opposition. Psammetichus had perhaps neither the force nor the skill to support the heavy burden which fell upon him, but even the strongest and most clear-sighted is not proof against the dagger.

Nicolaus tells us that Periander left Psammetichus, the son of his brother Gorgus, the successor to his throne.[2] He came from Corcyra, and reigned as a prince over Corinth, but only for a short time. Certain

[1] Diogen. Laert. 1, 99; Suidas, Περίανδρος.

[2] *Fragm.* 60. That Cypselus is a mistake is no less clear from the subsequent mention of his arrival from Corcyra, when we have just been told that "Psammetichus, the son of his brother Gorgus," had been established in Corcyra, than from Aristotle, *Pol.* 5, 9, 22 = 1315 *b* 26.

Corinthians entered into a conspiracy, slew him, and liberated the city. The community caused the houses of the tyrants to be pulled down, and confiscated their property. The corpse of Psammetichus was thrown out beyond the borders without burial; the graves of his ancestors were opened and their bones cast away. A new constitution was introduced (581 B.C.). Aristotle merely tells us that Psammetichus reigned three years and six months. The brother of Psammetichus, named Periander after his uncle, who had received the government of Ambracia, when Periander had made Psammetichus his viceroy in Corcyra, could not maintain himself in the city. In a frenzy of intoxication he is said to have insulted a favourite boy. A conspiracy was formed; Periander and his adherents were driven out of Ambracia.[1]

After a duration of seventy-four years the principate of the Cypselids at Corinth was at an end. It succumbed to a conspiracy of the nobles who had been so long oppressed. The hatred with which they were filled towards the dethroned family was satiated on their property, their houses, and their sepulchres. The detested names of the Cypselids were removed from the offerings which they had dedicated at Olympia and Delphi, and the name of the Corinthians was engraved

[1] So Arist. *Pol.* 5, 8, 9 = 1311 *a* 39 ff; 5, 3, 6 = 1304 *a* 32. According to Plutarch (*Amat.* c. 23), the boy killed Periander. That the Spartans deposed Psammetichus and Periander is only maintained in the treatise, *De Malignitate Herodoti*, c. 21, and on the strength of the general statement of Thucydides (1, 18) that the Spartans expelled the worst and last of the tyrants. The Cypselids were not the last. The narrative of Nicolaus about the fall of Psammetichus says not a word about the Spartans. Grote's observation (*Hist. of Greece*, 3, 59, note) that this fact, if it had been known to Herodotus, must have been mentioned in the speech of Socles, is quite true. This version of the overthrow of the Cypselids may have arisen in the fact that the Bacchiadæ sought refuge in Sparta, and returned from thence after the fall of Psammetichus.

in their place. For this object, then, stories were set abroad that these gifts had been offered from the property of the Corinthians; and the fables were invented that Cypselus had taken from the Corinthians the whole of their property, while Periander had stripped the women of their ornaments. In Delphi the object was attained. The treasure-house of Cypselus, with its rich dedicatory offerings, was henceforth the house of the Corinthians; but the Eleans, who, about the year 580 B.C., regained the management of the Olympian festival and the care of the shrine to the exclusion of the Pisatans,[1] declined to accede to the requests of the new government of Corinth. In revenge the Corinthians excluded the Eleans from all participation in their own Panhellenic festival on the isthmus.[2]

The overthrow of the tyranny of the Cypselids, to whom Corinth owed as great advances in trade, manufactures, and art as the Athenians owed to the Pisistratids, was attended with the most serious losses to the power and mercantile relations of the city. Epidaurus and Ægina renounced their allegiance, the island of Corcyra once more became independent, so that Corinth had again to experience the competition of the Corcyræans in the western markets; in fact, Corcyra soon stretched out her hand to Leucas and Ambracia, the colonies of Corinth on the adjacent west coast of the mainland. The oligarchy at Corinth could have no thoughts of reducing Corcyra to subjection; they were content if henceforth Ambracia, Leucas, and Anactorium, which were threatened by the growing power of Corcyra, sought the support of Corinth in order to escape subjugation to the Corcyræans.

[1] Vol. i. p. 247.
[2] Plut. *De Pyth. Orac.* c. 13.

Potidæa alone was retained by Corinth — a very important centre of trade on the Thracian coast. The colony paid tribute, and each year the Gerousia, or governing body of Corinth, sent Epidemiurgi to be the supreme power in Potidæa.[1] In the new constitution, which the nobles now set up at Corinth, all privileges within the aristocratic families appear to have been removed. If, after the expulsion of the Cypselids, Bacchiads returned from Sparta or elsewhere (they had, no doubt, left Corcyra when Periander became master of the island), their ancient privileges were not renewed. Past events had fully proved that nothing but the solidarity of the nobility and the suppression of all divisions among them could preserve their dominant position. Each of the eight tribes of the noble families had henceforth to elect ten members of the governing body. These representatives of the tribes took it in turn to preside in the council. The ten members of the presiding tribe formed the prytany in the place of the old prytaneus. The executive was in their hands, and the previous discussion of all matters which were to be laid before the larger council. Hence the ten members were called Probuli.[2] Unity and consistency were preserved in the government, with a careful regard to the oligarchical interest, by the regulation that nothing which did not receive the approval of the ten presidents could be brought before the council.[3] The initiative was kept in a narrow and close circle of debaters. The council of the eighty bore the aristocratic name of the Gerousia, *i.e.* the council of the Elders. Hence it could not occur to the governing nobility to make war

[1] Thucyd. 1, 56.

[2] Nicol. Dam. *Fragm.* 60. That we ought to read ὁ for θ′ I, like Busolt, consider beyond a doubt. Suidas, Πάντα ὀκτώ.

[3] Arist. *Pol.* 6, 5, 10 = 1322 *b* 15 ff.

upon the burghers, who had, doubtless, become far more important under the Cypselids than before. The extent and importance of the commercial interests made it impossible to put any restraint upon them, if the nobility wished to retain their position. While favouring trade and industry, the Cypselids had kept the citizens excluded from all exercise of power. The path was one to be followed yet farther. The Corinthian nobles were sufficiently sharp-sighted to take a right view of the position of affairs. Their policy was determined with a view to the advantages of trade. In this way the harsh opposition of noble and burgher was softened. The lower classes also could be compensated for an independence, which they had never possessed, by increased facilities of amassing wealth and of sensual enjoyment. The requirements of the state were met by the tolls in the two harbours, the income derived from the passage for ships over the isthmus, and the charges for the transit of wares, which were carried across over land. That the Corinthian nobles took a part in this material view of life may be concluded from the fact that some among them, who went to Olympia to contend in the games, vowed to dedicate sacred worshippers to Aphrodite on Acrocorinthus, who should serve the goddess with their bodies, in the event of success. The number of women thus presented to the goddess ranges from seven to one hundred.[1]

After the fall of the Cypselids, Corinth exhibits the picture of an aristocratic trading city. She did not make war or the acquisition of power her object, or require devoted service from the citizens to the state. By a

[1] Pindar, *Fragm.* 122 Bœckh; *Olymp.* 13, with the *Scholia.* The poem, according to the *Scholia*, falls in the year 464 B.C.

clever use of the means at hand, she sought to maintain her position, protect her trade, and advance it. About thirty years after the change in the government, seeing that the Spartans repulsed Argos more and more, the Corinthian nobles admitted the cantons of Arcadia to their alliance (shortly before the year 550 B.C.) The support which in this way they obtained for the maintenance of the aristocratic constitution, no less than the territory of the city, was most desirable. But when the Spartans at a later time, after Megara had joined the Spartan league, sought to extend their hegemony northwards beyond the isthmus, we find that Corinth opposed the attempt, so far as it could do so without an open breach with Sparta. She favoured the rise of Athens, and sought in this growing state a counterpoise to Sparta.

The Corinthian nobles also knew how to make use of the alliance with Sparta for the advancement of their maritime interests. The city lost her supremacy in the western waters with the defection of Corcyra; the marine of Corcyra surpassed that of Corinth.[1] The only influence which the Corinthians now had in this direction was derived from the opposition offered by Leucas and Ambracia to Corinth. In the eastern sea the trade of Corinth was seriously injured and threatened by the growth of the naval power of Samos under Polycrates, and his union with the princes of Naxos and Athens, which gave him the supremacy. The Corinthians forced the Spartans into a common expedition against the tyrant of Samos. Polycrates was able to maintain his power, but the dominion of

[1] In the Persian war Corcyra supplied 60, Corinth only 40, ships. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war Corcyra had 120 triremes, Corinth only 90. Ambracia supplied Corinth with 27 triremes, Leucas with 10.

Lygdamis in Naxos was overthrown ; at any rate the union of the three princes was broken (524 B.C.). Corinth also aided the Athenians against the supremacy which the Æginetans acquired in the Ægean Sea after the overthrow of Polycrates (after 518 B.C.).

So far as we can see, it cannot be said that the nobles of Corinth neglected the interests of their city ; on the contrary, they supported them by a very wise and comprehensive policy. However unsatisfactory the domestic government may have been, it is clear, from its long continuance, that intelligence and moderation were not wanting. Pindar commends the wealthy Corinth as the city "in which Eunomia (good law) dwells, and her sisters, Dike (justice) and like-minded Eirene (peace), sure keepers of cities, the golden children of wise Themis, who know how to guard against rebellion, the bold mother of discontent."[1]

[1] Pind. *Olymp.* 13, 6-10.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ORTHAGORIDÆ IN SICYON.

At the time of the emigration, Dorians, under the leadership of Phalces, conquered the old Ionic town of Sicyon, on the shores of the Crisæan Gulf, the most important city of the Ægialeis, the long series of whose kings we have already passed in review. Here, as at Corinth and Epidaurus, a part of the ancient population was adopted into the new community. Besides the three tribes of the Dorians—the Hylleis, Pamphyli, and Dymanes—we find a fourth, the Ægialeis, so named from Ægialeus, the ancestor of the Ægialeis, or old population, who was the builder and first king of Sicyon.[1] The Dorians who settled in Sicyon are said to have come from Argos; Phalces is the son of Temenus, the founder of the Dorian Argos. The Dorian community of Sicyon was a member of the sacrificial community of Argos, the central point of which was the sanctuary of Apollo Pythæus, on the Acropolis of that city. How and when the nobles of Sicyon—men of Dorian and Ionian extraction—wrested the monarchy from the descendants of Phalces, and in what way the four tribes arranged the government, we do not know; we can only assume that here also an equal portion in the government of the com-

[1] Vol. i. p. 69; Herod. 5, 68. The alteration of the names of the tribes sixty years after Clisthenes is a restoration of the ancient names.

munity was assigned to each of the four corporations. Of the rule of the nobles we only hear that they cast aside all restraint, and designated the peasants—the descendants of the Ionic population who had neither emigrated nor obtained admittance into the nobility—by the contemptible name of "wearers of the sheep-skin" (Catonacophori).[1]

The territory of Sicyon was small, but fruitful in corn, wine, and oil; next to the Corinthians the Sicyonians were most renowned for skill and industry in all kinds of manufacture.[2] The city could not remain uninfluenced by the trade which gradually grew up on the Corinthian Gulf. In the contrast between the ancient population and the Dorian rulers—between the rising citizen class and the depressed peasants on the one hand, and the governing nobles on the other—Sicyon also possessed the elements of a revolution, which broke out even earlier than at Corinth. Orthagoras, of the tribe of the Ægialeis, a man belonging to the non-Dorian nobility, placed himself at the head of the rising classes—that is, of the fourth tribe, the citizens and the peasants—and succeeded in overthrowing the dominion of the nobles in the year 665 B.C., and getting into his hands the supreme power.[3] The victory of the tribe of the Ægialeis and of the lower classes was at the same time the triumph of the ancient population over the Dorians, the restoration of the state of things which had prevailed before the migration.[4]

[1] Plut. *Ser. num. vind.* c. 87; Theopomp. *Fragm.* 195.

[2] Strabo, p. 382.

[3] The descendant of Orthagoras, Clisthenes, belongs to the tribe of the Ægialeis, so therefore must Orthagoras; Herod. *l. c.*; Σχεδὸν γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀρχαίων τυράννων ἐκ δημαγωγῶν γεγόνασιν, Arist. *Pol.* 5, 4, 4 = 1305 *a* 9.

[4] The close of the century, during which the Orthagoridæ ruled in Sicyon (Arist. *Pol.* 5 9, 21 = 1315 *b* 11 ff; Diod. *Excerpt. Vat.* p. 11 = 8,

Like Cypselus and Periander of Corinth, the new princes of Sicyon were careful to pay honour to the god of Olympia, at whose shrine, after the middle of the seventh century B.C., all Hellas gathered, and thus to display before the Greeks proofs of their power, their piety, and their love of art. Orthagoras was succeeded on the throne of Sicyon by his son Myron. In 648 B.C. Myron was victorious at Olympia with his four-horse chariot. For the reception of his own offerings and those of the Sicyonians to the Olympic Zeus, Myron caused a splendid treasury to be built in the Altis or sacred precincts of Olympia. It lay to the north of the ancient temple of Hera, at the foot of the hill of Cronos.

24) is fixed by the statement of Herodotus that the arrangements of Clisthenes, the last Orthagorid, continued in force sixty years after his death. These arrangements were the suppression of the Dorian tribes, which must have been set aside when Sicyon entered the confederacy of Sparta. In 495 B.C. Sicyon was a member of this confederacy. At that time Cleomenes summoned the contingent of Sicyon without any preliminaries. Hence Sicyon must have joined before this date, and apparently about the year 506 B.C., when for the first time Sparta led her whole alliance across the isthmus. This gives us 565 B.C. (505 + 60) for the death of Clisthenes, and 100 years from this carry us to 665 B.C. for the accession of Orthagoras. These dates are confirmed by the Olympian victory of Myron, who succeeded Orthagoras in 648 B.C., and by the statement of Nicolaus (*Fragm.* 61) that Clisthenes reigned thirty-one years, which brings us to 596 B.C. We also know that Clisthenes took a leading part in the sacred war against Crisa, which began in 592 B.C. According to Herodotus, the posterity of the Orthagoridæ runs thus (Herod. 6, 126)—Andreas, Myron, Aristonymus, Clisthenes. Aristotle only speaks of the tyrannies of Orthagoras and his sons; afterwards he mentions Clisthenes (*Pol.* 5, 9, 21 = 1315 *b* 16 ff). Pausanias (2, 8, 1), like Herodotus, mentions Myron, Aristonymus, Clisthenes; Plutarch only mentions Orthagoras, Myron, and Clisthenes (*Ser. num. vind.* 7). In Nicolaus, Myron, Isodemus, and Clisthenes are brothers. We cannot suppose that the reign of Orthagoras and his three sons filled an entire century (Myron was tyrant in 648 B.C.; the reign of three brothers could not extend from 650 to 565 B.C., *i.e.* for eighty-five years). If the statement of Nicolaus, which, no doubt, is derived from Ephorus, is to be reconciled with Herodotus, a second Myron must be inserted, named after his grandfather, and the series will then be—Orthagoras, Myron, Aristonymus, after whom come his three sons, Myron II., Isodemus, and Clisthenes.

It contained two chambers, one in the Ionian, the other in the Dorian style, the walls of which were covered with bronze plates. The inscription in the smaller chamber announced that "Myron and the community of Sicyon" had dedicated these chambers, and placed the weight of the bronze used in covering the walls at 500 talents (18¾ tons). Pausanias, who saw the building and read the inscription, will not decide whether this bronze really came from Tartessus, as the Eleans maintained.[1] The treasury of Myron is the oldest example of the Dorian and Ionian styles, which are thus proved to have reached their distinctive development by the middle of the seventh century.

Whether Aristonymus, the son of Myron, succeeded his father on the throne of Sicyon, is not certain. Isodemus, the elder son of Aristonymus, is said to have been deprived of the throne after a short reign by his younger brother Clisthenes, who induced him to leave Sicyon on some pretext, and then prevented his return by force. The beginning of the reign of Clisthenes falls in 596 B.C.[2]

"Clisthenes was not a man to be despised," says Aristotle, "for he was a brave warrior." "His following was greater than that of Isodemus," Nicolaus

[1] Pausan. 6, 19, 2. The bronze certainly did not come from Tartessus, but this was not impossible, as Grote thinks (vol. iii. p. 44, note), for about the year 630 Colæus of Samos had reached Tartessus, and the building of Myron need not have been erected precisely in the year of the victory, even if it was vowed before or for it. Time was required for such buildings. The chamber now uncovered at Olympia, which is proved by an inscription to have been the treasury of Sicyon, according to Adler's view belongs in its structure to the end of the sixth century. In Kirchhoff's judgment the inscription on it belongs to the end of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century.

[2] Nicol. Damasc. *Fragm.* 61 M, allows Clisthenes thirty-one years. If the end of his reign has been correctly fixed at 565 B.C., the beginning falls in 596 (565 + 31).

relates, after Ephorus no doubt, "for he was energetic and influential; he often sent out auxiliaries in order to win adherents." Herodotus tells us that he went to war with Argos.[1] Immediately after he seized the reins of government, Clisthenes found an opportunity of making himself known by his military achievements far beyond the borders of Peloponnesus.

Along with the growth of the Delphian community round the shrine of Pytho grew their effort to free themselves from their dependence upon the Crisæans. Situated to the west of Delphi, on the southern slope of Parnassus, where a steep cliff overhangs the Pleistus, Crisa commanded the approach to Delphi from the shore of the Corinthian Gulf.[2] At the mouth of the Pleistus, which falls into this bay ten miles to the south of Crisa, lay Cirrha, the harbour city of Crisa, under the abrupt heights of Cirphis, a detached group of hills between the left bank of the Pleistus and the shore.[3] The Crisæans must have seen with envious eyes the unlaborious prosperity of Delphi, to which the sacrifices and temple brought ever richer fruits; they must have attempted to prevent the separation of Delphi from their community, and its emancipation. On their part the Delphians complained that the Crisæans exacted tolls from the pilgrims who landed at Cirrha on their journey from Sicily and Lower Italy to Delphi. They had been guilty also of acts of violence—in plundering pilgrims and carrying off some Argive maidens on their way home from the Delphian

[1] *Pol.* 5, 9, 21 = 1315 *b* 16; Nicol. Damasc. *loc. cit.*; Herod. 5, 67.

[2] *Supra*, p. 236. The altar in the circuit of the ancient wall of Crisa with the Bustrophedon inscription belongs undoubtedly to the period before the destruction of Crisa, *i.e.* before 600 B. C.; Kirchhoff, *Studien*[3], s. 135.

[3] Pind. *Pyth.* 5, 49; Pausan. 10, 37, 5; Strabo, p. 418; Ulrich's *Reise*, s. 23.

temple. And in spite of a decree of the council of the Amphictyons, they had not removed the toll.[1] The contrast between the ancient community, with its long-established rights, and the new settlement sufficiently explains the quarrel between Crisa and Delphi.

The protection of the Delphic sanctuary had been undertaken by the Amphictyons, who united for sacrifice at Anthela, before the middle of the eighth century. From that time they sacrificed at Delphi in the spring and in the autumn at Anthela. Half a century later the growing importance of the oracle at Delphi brought about a considerable increase in the numbers of the Amphictyons. The votes of the members, originally twelve, had been doubled, and a place and a voice in the council were allowed to the Athenians and certain states in the Peloponnesus (*supra*, p. 236). On the present occasion it was Solon of Athens who, being at this time occupied in reconciling the nobles and people of his country, was present at the meeting of the Amphictyons as the representative of Attica, and proposed: "That they should no longer endure the outrages of the Crisæans on the oracle, but go at once to aid the Delphians and protect them, for the sake of the deity."[2] No greater service could have been rendered to the Delphians. The protection of Delphi by force of arms could have no other end than the complete emancipation of the place from Crisa. The first subject for consideration was: whether any cities would take upon themselves to carry out the proposal of the Amphictyons, and if so, which cities. It was certain that Athens would co-operate in the work; for otherwise the Athenian envoy could not have pro-

[1] *Schol.* Pind. Ὑπόθεσις Πυθίων; Strabo, p. 418; Æschin. *in Ctesiph.* 107; Athenæus, p. 560.

[2] Arist. in Plut. *Sol.* 11.

posed the measure. Besides Athens, Clisthenes, the new prince of Sicyon, declared himself ready. Not only was it a meritorious action to aid the god of Delphi, but the Sicyonians had an interest in keeping open, for themselves and their neighbours in the west of the Peloponnesus, the approach to Delphi over the gulf. The Thessalians, also, whose warriors we met about half a century earlier taking part with Chalcis against Eretria, were ready. They were commanded by Eurylochus, of the race of the Aleuadæ of Larissa; Alcmæon was the leader of the Athenians,[1] Clisthenes of the Sicyonians. The Pythia urged those who were executing the decree of the Amphictyons "to make war upon the Crisæans day and night, to lay waste their territory, and make slaves of the inhabitants; to consecrate their land to the Pythian Apollo, Artemis, Leto, and Athena Pronæa (the deities of Delphi); never to cultivate it or allow any one else to do so."[2] The destruction of the Crisæans and the change of their territory into waste land not only protected the Delphians against the Crisæans, but made it certain that no other community would rise up on the site to their disadvantage.

Crisa was invaded by the troops (592 B.C.).[3] But

[1] [Plut. *loc. cit.*] [2] Æschin. *in Ctesiph.* 108.

[3] Crisa was taken, and the contest for the booty was held by Eurylochus, according to the argument in the *Scholia* to Pindar's *Pythian Odes*, in the archonship of Simon, and the same date was given in the Parian Marble (326 + 264) = *Olymp.* 47, 3 = 590 B.C. Hence Cirrha was taken, and the remnant of the Crisæans on Cirphis conquered, and the contest for the crown instituted six years after the capture of Crisa, *i.e.* according to the *Scholia* quoted, in the archonship of Damasias, and according to the Parian Marble in (318 + 264 =) *Olymp.* 49, 3 = 582 B.C. The war lasted ten years (Athen. p. 560), from 592 to 583 B.C. The cycle of the Pythian Ennaëteris, or rather Penteteris, makes it necessary to put the first celebration in the year after the capture of Crisa, *i.e.* 590 B.C.; and as the introduction of the crown after the capture of Cirphis could not take place before the return of the festival in 582 B.C.—we are told

the inhabitants defended themselves vigorously. To the besiegers who asked when the city would fall, the Pythia answered: "Ye will not cast down the towers of this city till the blue wave of Amphitrite breaks upon the sacred shore of my temple-precincts." This was the consistent sequel of the previous response which commanded them to consecrate to Apollo the entire territory of the Crisæans. Solon, we are told, understood the saying of the Pythia, and advised at once to dedicate the land of the Crisæans to Apollo. According to another statement Clisthenes was the author of this resolution. At their distance from the sea the Crisæans felt themselves secure, but when they discovered that the response of the deity had been carried out, they knew that the besiegers would be masters of the city.[1] But their resistance was not yet at an end. It was continued by Cirrha, the harbour-city, which maintained herself, though the ships of Clisthenes prevented any approach by sea.[2] Solon advised that the course of the Pleistus should be altered, on which Cirrha lay, in order to cut off the supply of water. This advice failed of its object—an underground conduit compensated the loss of the Pleistus. It was not till this water also had been made unfit to drink by the hellebore of Anticyra,

expressly in the argument, *μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ἑξαετῆ καταγωνισαμένων τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Ἱππίου τοὺς ὑπολελειμμένους τῶν Κιρραίων ἐπὶ μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος Δαμασίου—ὕστερον καὶ στεφανίτην ἔθεντο κατορθώσαντες*—we are at liberty and have reason to put the end of the war in 583 B.C., and the beginning in 592 B.C., for that the six years are counted in the ten is beyond doubt. Pausanias (10, 7, 3) reckons the Pythian games from *Olymp.* 48, 3 = 586 B.C.; Eusebius from 49, 3 = 582 B.C.

[1] Æschin. *in Ctesiph.* 112; Diod. *Exc. Vat.* p. 20 = 9, 16. Polyænus (*Strat.* 3, 5) calls the besieged city Cirrha, but at the same time allows that it lay far from the sea, from which it is clear that Crisa is meant. The two names were often confused; Strabo alone (p. 418) keeps them clearly distinct; Pausan. 10, 37, 5.

[2] *Schol.* Pind. *Nem.* 9, 2.

which was thrown into it on the suggestion of Solon or Eurylochus, that Cirrha fell (589 B.C.).[1] For six years longer the remnant of the Cirrhæans continued the resistance on the heights of Cirphis. In order to crush it Eurylochus left behind Hippias with a part of his forces.[2] The victors divided the spoil. Clisthenes received a third part of it (583 B.C.).[3]

The Amphictyons determined to proceed with the Crisæans and their territory in accordance with the response of the deity. The land was dedicated to Apollo, Artemis, Leto, and Athena Pronæa, and remained uncultivated. In order to maintain the resolution against all opposition, the Amphictyons pledged themselves by a solemn oath, which the Hieromnemons took in the name of the cities they represented. They swore "to come to the aid of the god and the consecrated land with hand and foot and all their might." The oath was ratified by a curse: "Let the people, the city, the man, who transgresses this resolution be devoted to Apollo, Leto, Artemis, and Athena Pronæa; may the earth yield them no fruits; may their women and cattle bring forth abortions; may they be defeated in war, and fail in law-suits and disputations. May their houses and their race perish; may they never sacrifice to Apollo, Artemis, Leto, and Athena Pronæa, and may their sacrifices prove ineffectual."[4] The resolution, which was of the utmost importance to the Delphians (it was graven on a stone) was strictly kept. The land dedicated to the god was paced round and examined at each Pylæa or meeting of the Amphictyons

[1] Pausan. 10, 37, 5. Polyænus's version (*Strat.* 6, 13), is in any case more rational and intelligible than that of Pausanias.

[2] *Schol.* Pind. Pröem. *Pyth.*

[3] Pausan. 2, 9, 6; *Schol.* Pind. *Nem.* 9, 2.

[4] Æschin. *in Ctesiph.* 109-112.

at Delphi. When Pausanias visited Delphi he found the Crisæan plain without trees and uncultivated; he saw there the shrines of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto.[1]

The Amphictyons sacrificed to Apollo at Delphi in the spring. The sacrifice which was offered to the god at Delphi in the autumn, in the Delphian month Bucatius (September), was from ancient times celebrated in each eighth year, after the close of a great cycle, with contests of harpists,—Terpander had been four times victorious.[2] The management of the festival was in the hands of the Amphictyons. When it returned, in the year 590 B.C., after the capture of Crisa, the Amphictyons, in order to commemorate the victory, added to the contest of the harpers a contest of flute-players, and singers to the flute, as well as gymnastic games in honour of Eurylochus the Aleuad,[3] who had the chief share in the glory of the conquest of Crisa. In a poem of Euphorion (third century B.C.), Eurylochus appears as a second Achilles, and the Delphians are represented as greeting him with a pæan. After the capture of Crisa he was chosen by the Amphictyons to be Agonothetes, to arrange and group the contests; the prizes of the successful candidates were part of the spoil of the Crisæans. Hence-

[1] Strabo, p. 418; Pausan. 10, 37, 5. From a resolution of the Amphictyons of the year 380 B.C., we learn that the land dedicated to the god was regularly paced round by them, and attention given to the preservation of it as sacred. When the Phocians cultivated the plain of Crisa, the Amphictyons declared war upon them (355 B.C.), and when the Locrians of Amphissa rebuilt Cirrha, a similar decree was passed by the Amphictyons (339 B.C.). The war, which thus arose, made Philip master of Greece. On the supervision of the consecrated land in later times, see Wescher, *Etude*, pp. 12, 36, 55.

[2] Vol. i. p. 301; *supra*, p. 4.

[3] Strabo puts the horse contests in the earliest renewed festival, but they could not take place on the terrace of Delphi. As Pausanias tells us, they must have been first introduced when the Crisæan plain was secured.

forth the festival was to be celebrated not in every eighth year, but in every fourth year, after the pattern of the Olympia. At the next celebration, in the year 586 B.C., when the resistance of the Crisæans on Mount Cirphis was still going on, Melampus of Cephallenia was victorious in the hymn sung to the cithara, Echembrotus the Arcadian in the flute-song, and Sacadas of Argos in playing the flute. Echembrotus dedicated the bronze tripod which he won as a prize to Heracles of Thebes, with the inscription: "Echembrotus of Arcadia gave this offering to Heracles when he was victorious at the contests of the Amphictyons, in singing songs and elegies to the Greeks." On the third recurrence of the newly-arranged festival, when the Crisæans had been completely overcome, in the year 582 B.C., the Amphictyons resolved that prizes of value should not be given; the prize of the conqueror was to be a crown of laurel from the sacred tree of Apollo, from the grove which surrounded his temple. At the same time the song with the flute was abolished, and horse-races added. The plain below the mountain-terrace of Delphi was now safe; in this the course for the horses was laid down (the stadium was on the heights of Delphi). The chariot of Clisthenes was victorious. In the next six Pythiads, Pythocritus the Sicyonian carried off the prize for flute-playing.[1] These contests gave a livelier and more influential expression to the assembly of the Amphictyons and the union of the Hellenes round the shrine of Apollo at Delphi. Indeed, these Pythian games, and the Isthmian and Nemean, which were founded soon after them, though they never attained to the importance of

[1] *Schol.* Pröem. *Pyth.*; Strabo, p. 421; Pausan. 10, 7, 4, 5 ff; 6, 14, 10; 10, 37, 4.

the Olympia, in some respects give a more complete picture of Greek life. At the Olympia music and poetry were not included in the contests.

Clisthenes used his portion of the spoil of the Crisæans to build a prytaneum in the market-place of Sicyon, and a portico which was called after him. In other ways also he was careful for the adornment of his city and the cultivation of art. He employed the most famous sculptors of his time, Dipœnus and Scyllus of Crete, to make statues of Athena, Apollo, Artemis, and Heracles.[1]

The war against Crisa and Cirrha in behalf of Apollo of Delphi was followed by a war which Clisthenes waged against Argos. Sicyon belonged to the Amphictyons of Argos; her territory, which lay to the south of Corinth, bordered upon Phlius and Cleonæ. What Herodotus tells us of this war of Clisthenes against Argos shows plainly that the tyrant's object was to break down the combination which united Sicyon and Argos owing to the conquests of the Dorians, and to obtain complete independence for his city. If Periander conquered Epidaurus and liberated it from Argos, Sicyon must also be independent beside Argos. We know the privileges which Argos claimed as head of the confederacy.[2] But she had other rights to the suzerainty over Sicyon than her position as head of the community of Apollo Pythæus, or the conquest of Sicyon by Phalces, the son of Temenus. Adrastus, the old king of the Ægialians and Ionian Sicyon, whose worship the Dorians found existing in the city when they conquered it, and, as usual, allowed to remain, became in the Dorian legend a king of Argos. He is said to have reigned over Argos and Sicyon. There

[1] Pausan. 2, 9, 6.

[2] *Supra*, p. 16.

was a shrine of Adrastus in the market-place of Sicyon, where he was honoured with choric songs. This shrine and these rites reminded the Sicyonians continually of their dependent connection with Argos. To eradicate the memory of the supposed common ruler of Argos and Sicyon, to remove the conception of the common struggles between Sicyon and Argos, Clisthenes resolved to put an end to the worship of Adrastus in Sicyon. To the Greeks, with their conscientious feeling in regard to religious matters, alterations of worship were impossible without the sanction of the gods. Clisthenes attempted to obtain the authority of the Delphian oracle for the removal of Adrastus. But in spite of the eminent services which he had rendered to Delphi, the Pythia is said to have answered: "Adrastus is the rightful lord of the Sicyonians, but thou stonest them." Nevertheless Clisthenes persisted in his undertaking. He proceeded to carry out his object with even greater severity than he intended. He sent to Thebes with the request that the Thebans would allow him "to carry Melanippus to Sicyon." The Thebans were pleased to accede to a request which increased the honour and extended the worship of a hero of their land. In the legend and in the *Epos* of the war of the heroes of Argos against Thebes (the *Thebaid*), Melanippus had been the champion of Thebes. By his hand Tydeus and Mecisteus had fallen. By introducing the worship of Melanippus in place of that of Adrastus into Sicyon, Clisthenes not only dethroned the ancient ruler of Sicyon, but made the deadliest opponent of Argos the national hero of the city. Clisthenes founded a shrine for Melanippus in the prytaneum at Sicyon, and thus formally installed him as

the hero of the country. He caused offerings for the dead to be brought to him, and every honour to be paid which previously had been paid to Adrastus.[1]

We have no information about the result of the war with Argos, but that Clisthenes succeeded in completely breaking loose from Argos is proved by the fact that he not only expelled Adrastus, but established far more important changes, with a view to create opposition between Argos and the Dorians, and that these changes continued to exist after his reign. This was no small success for such a community as Sicyon, which even about the year 500 B.C. could not place more than 3000 hoplites in the field.[2] Besides the three tribes of the Hylleis, Dymanes, and Pamphylians, which included the immigrant Dorian families, the noble families of the Ionians who had remained in the city formed, as we have seen, a fourth tribe, called the Ægialeis. To this tribe belonged at most a fourth share in the government and council, in the law courts and offices. In these traditional arrangements Clisthenes made such a striking change as is generally found only after severe party struggles. He changed the name of the Ægialeis into that of Archelai, *i.e.* rulers of the people, thus raising the tribe to the first place, and making it the ruling order. From this name we may conclude that henceforth it monopolised the law courts and council chamber. The citizens and peasants, distributed over the three Dorian tribes as clients and dependents, were released from this connection, and either allotted to the families of the Archelai, or united into new families and enrolled in that tribe. Thus, after the lapse of nearly four centuries, the Dorian conquest was reversed, Ionian Sicyon restored, and

[1] Herod. 5, 67. [2] Herod. 9, 28.

the government given back to the old population. The three Dorian tribes existed as corporations, but they were now the subject part of the community. To mark decisively the loss of their ancient privileges, and destroy all memory of their old pre-eminence in the Dorian families, Clisthenes changed their names in a manner that made only too plain to the Dorian nobles the position to which they had henceforth to adapt themselves. The Hylleis, the oldest and most noble of the Dorian tribes, were named the Hyatæ, *i.e.* the Piglings; the Dymanes were called the Choreatæ, or Porkers; the Pamphyli the Oneatæ, or Asinine. By thus disgracing their Dorian masters, Clisthenes put the seal on the restoration of the ancient population of Sicyon to the government of the community. The Sicyonians of Ionian blood had now to fear that if the insulted Dorian tribes succeeded in removing Clisthenes, and winning back by force and rebellion the ruling power, they would take the severest vengeance for the slight put upon them. The rise of the Dorian tribes in such a manner would have as its consequence a fierce retribution for all the deprivations and dishonour inflicted upon them.

Such harsh and severe proceedings are not explained by the traditional statement that Clisthenes was more violent and cruel than his predecessors—a statement which tradition also contradicts; and still less by the assumption that a fierce tyrant introduced these changes merely in contempt and scorn. They were not confined to the alteration of the names, though Herodotus speaks of these only. No doubt Clisthenes governed more strictly than his predecessors; that is shown in the statement of Aristotle. "A tyranny may pass into another tyranny; as that of Myron into the

tyranny of Clisthenes."[1] No doubt he belonged by origin to the Ionian families, and felt himself compelled to make the Ionian population the support of his government, and to strengthen and elevate it for that purpose. Yet even this does not explain the severity of Clisthenes towards the Dorian tribes. A hint in Herodotus allows us to see further. Clisthenes did not wish the same tribes to exist in Sicyon and Argos.[2] If we combine it with those words of the Pythia that he was a "stoner" of the Sicyonians, we may conclude from the hint of Herodotus that the Dorian tribes of Sicyon had sought assistance and help against Clisthenes in Argos; their revolt had been broken down, and Clisthenes had punished their treachery and rebellion with severity. By these opprobrious names he sought to destroy the bond which united the Dorians of Sicyon and Argos by tribal names. This connection he severed, and so far as in him lay changed Sicyon into an Ionic town by making as wide and deep as possible the division between the Doric and Ionic city.

Apart from the expulsion of Adrastus, whom legend and *Epos* had stripped of his Ionic garb and clothed in a Doric-Argive robe, Clisthenes was most vigorous in his attacks upon the nobility and their customs. This is shown by the statement of Herodotus, that he forbade the recitations and contests of the rhapsodes at sacrifices and festivals. This regulation affected not only the recitations from the *Thebaid*, which celebrated the achievements of Adrastus, for the Homeric poems also glorified Argos and her heroes, and extolled the heroic and chivalrous life. On the other hand, Clisthenes, like Periander, favoured the worship of Dionysus, which the nobles had neglected. The choruses which

[1] *Pol.* 5, 10, 3 = 1316 *a* 30.

[2] Herod. 5, 68.

had hitherto praised Adrastus were henceforth to adorn the feast of Dionysus. The ancient deity of the sacrificial liquor, who filled the storehouses of the husbandmen with grapes and fruit, was now to receive fitting honour in Sicyon. The expulsion of Adrastus, the exaltation of Melanippus, his victorious opponent, to be the state-hero of Sicyon, was met on the part of the Argives by the increased honours which they paid to Adrastus. In the valley of Nemea, on the borders of the territory of Sicyon, the Cleonæans held a sacrifice in honour of the ancient heroes of Argos, and especially of Adrastus. This sacrifice to the Nemean Zeus, and the games connected with it, which Adrastus is said to have instituted, were now extended by the Argives to a Panhellenic sacrifice. In this new form it was held for the first time in the year 573 B.C.[1] From the date of this increase of the honours of Adrastus in opposition to Sicyon we may perhaps conclude that the contest between Argos and Clisthenes was carried on not very long before this date, *i.e.* between 580 and 575 B.C. Of further successes on the part of Clisthenes we are only told that his four-horse chariot was victorious in the year 568 at Olympia.

Clisthenes was without male issue; with the hand of his daughter Agariste went the inheritance of the throne of Sicyon.[2] On the choice of a son-in-law depended the continuance of the dynasty, the maintenance of the dominion which Orthagoras had founded. Hence there was no lack of suitors for the hand of the

[1] *Infra*, Book 6, chap. 4.

[2] As Herodotus dates the wooing of Agariste from this victory, and Clisthenes died in 565 B.C., as has been shown, and the daughter of Megacles and Agariste is marriageable in 550 B.C., 568 B.C. = *Olymp.* 53 must be taken for the victory. We never hear of a son of Clisthenes, and the importance attached to the marriage of the daughter shows that there was no son.

tyrant's daughter. The leading families at Athens, the Philaidæ and Alcmæonids, were represented among them. They may have sought to strengthen their position and privileges in Athens, which were curtailed by Solon's laws and constitution, by alliance and combination with the tyrant of Sicyon. With the aid of Clisthenes they may have thought it possible to overthrow the newly-established constitution of Athens. In a previous generation Miltiades I., the son of Tisander, of the family of the Philaidæ, had married the daughter of Cypselus of Corinth. The issue of the union was two sons—Cypselus and Tisander. The son of Cypselus was Miltiades II., the present head of the Philaidæ; the son of Tisander was Hippoclides, who now came forward as a suitor of Agariste. The dynasty of the Cypselidæ at Corinth with which Hippoclides was connected had fallen more than ten years previously (581 B.C.). The rival of Hippoclides for the hand of Agariste was Megacles the Alcmæonid. Alcmæon, the son of Megacles I., had been the companion-in-arms of Clisthenes in the sacred war against the Crisæans; subsequently, he had gained a victory with a chariot-and-four at Olympia (572 B.C.).[1] His son Megacles, so named after his grandfather, gained the advantage over Hippoclides; he became the son-in-law of Clisthenes, and his prospective heir (567 B.C.). In Athens there was a proverb, "Hippoclides does not care." These were said to have been the words of Hippoclides when Clisthenes informed him that Megacles would be taken for his daughter's husband.[2]

Herodotus has given us an account of the wooing of Agariste, which is obviously taken from a poetical

[1] *Infra*, Book 5, chap. 7. [2] Herod. 6, 126-130; Suidas, Οὐ φροντίς.

source.[1] The object of the poem, which even in the historian's version betrays here and there its Attic origin, was to set forth the success of the house of the Alcmæonidæ, the victory of Megacles over his most distinguished rivals, especially over the Philaidæ, whose contentions with the Alcmæonidæ we can follow for more than 200 years. In order to glorify the prosperity of that family, a citizen of the hostile city of Argos is included among the suitors, and he is represented as the son of the ancient tyrant Phidon, who had been dead for a century and a half. Clisthenes—so Herodotus tells the tale—wished to find out the best man in Greece as a husband for his daughter. "When he conquered at Olympia with a chariot-and-four, he announced that any man who considered himself worthy to become the son-in-law of Clisthenes should repair to Sicyon within sixty days or sooner; when a year had elapsed from that time he would decide upon the marriage." Then came all the men who were proud of their birth or of their position. From Sybaris in Italy came Smindyrides, the most luxurious of men; from Siris, Damasus; from Epidamnus, on the Ionian Sea, Amphimnestus; from Ætolia, Males, the brother of Titormus, who was the strongest of men. From the Peloponnesus came Amiantus, an Arcadian of Trapezus, Laphanes, an Azanian, Onomastus of Elis; from Thessaly, Diactorides, of the Scopadæ of Crannon; and from the Molossians, Alcon. From Athens came Megacles, the son of Alcmæon, and Hippoclides, the son of Tisander, who was pre-eminent among the Athenians in wealth and beauty. Clisthenes first inquired into the country and descent of each of the suitors; then he retained them in his house for a year, in order to

[1] Kirchhoff, *Enstehungszeit*, s. 42 ff.

test their worth, culture, disposition, and character. The younger men were taken to the gymnasium; but the chief test was the banquet, for he entertained them splendidly the whole year through. The Athenians found most favour in his eyes, and of these Hippoclides, partly owing to his manly prowess, partly because he was connected by descent with the Cypselids of Corinth. When the appointed day for the declaration came, Clisthenes sacrificed a hecatomb, and entertained with splendour the suitors and all the Sicyonians. When the meal was over, and the suitors were contending in songs and sentiments, Hippoclides surpassed all the rest; and as the drinking grew deeper, he called to the flute-player to play a dance measure, and while he played, Hippoclides danced. With this performance he was highly delighted, but Clisthenes looked on with disgust. Soon afterwards Hippoclides ordered a table to be brought in, upon which he stepped. First he danced Laconian measures, then Attic; finally, he stood upon his head on the table, and gesticulated with his legs. Even while Hippoclides was dancing, Clisthenes had made up his mind not to choose him for his daughter's husband, owing to his dancing and unseemly behaviour, but he kept silence, and uttered no rebuke. When, however, he saw him gesticulating with his legs, he could restrain himself no longer, and cried: "Son of Tisander, you have danced your bride away." Then Clisthenes commanded silence to be made, and said: "Ye wooers of my daughter, I commend you all, and, were it possible, I would requite you all, without preferring one to the disparagement of the rest. But with one maiden to provide for, it is impossible to find a wife for each of you; to every one, therefore, whose suit I reject, I give a talent of silver—for the honour

he has done me in wooing my daughter, and for the time he has spent away from his home. But Agariste, my daughter, I betroth to Megacles, according to the laws of the Athenians."[1]

Strabo tells us that Sicyon "was under the rule of tyrants longer than any other city, but the tyrants were always men of humane disposition."[2] Aristotle's opinion is: "The reign of the Orthagoridæ lasted 100 years, because they conducted themselves with moderation towards their subjects, and in most cases submitted to the laws. They were leaders of the people, and in their administration took care of the people's interests. Moreover, Clisthenes was a great soldier."[3] Clisthenes then allowed the magistrates to discharge their duties, and the laws to continue in force—a view which is supported by the building of the prytaneum, and the story related by Aristotle, that he rewarded with a crown the umpire who had decided against him in the games at Sicyon. His reforms had been carried out with unprecedented severity. No respect for ancient institutions had prevented him from overthrowing the arrangement of the four tribes in Sicyon, and establishing the exact opposite. No feelings of magnanimity had restrained him from adding insults to the destruction of the influence of the Dorian nobility at Sicyon. No reverence for religious ordinances and the responses of Delphi had checked him when replacing an ancient rite by a new and hostile form of worship. Yet the arrangements established by Clisthenes struck deep root in the city. He must have correctly estimated the force of the interests which he attracted to his side by his incisive reforms, in comparison with those which he disregarded. If the duration

[1] Herod. 6, 126-130. [2] Strabo, p. 382. [3] *Pol.* 5, 9, 21 = 1315 *b* 16.

of the rule of the Orthagoridæ shows that this dynasty knew how to reign, and could secure the favour of the Ionians who formed the lower classes, the continuance of the institutions of Clisthenes, when he had passed away, is a proof that he understood the situation better than his predecessors, and did not overvalue the force, endurance, and insight of the ancient population.

When the rule of the Orthagoridæ came to an end, sixty years after the death of Clisthenes, and the Doric tribes of Sicyon were restored to their ancient rights, these families, like those of Corinth, could not fail to pour contempt on the memory of the man whose hand had been so heavy upon them. It is said that an oracle from Delphi announced to the Sicyonians that they must live for 100 years under the whip; but this is obviously a pure invention, arising from the length of the rule of the Orthagoridæ. To the same feeling was due, doubtless, the stories which gave the name Copreus, *i.e.* manure-man, to the father of Orthagoras, or maintained that Orthagoras rose to be prince of Sicyon from the position of a cook or whip-bearer to the Archon.[1] Nor is much more value to be ascribed to the story of the licentiousness of a brother of Clisthenes, or the widely-spread assertions about his own cruelty.[2]

With the death of Clisthenes the "tyranny" of the Orthagoridæ came to an end (565 B.C.). We do not know whether Megacles made any attempt to

[1] Diod. *Exc. Vat.* p. 11 = 8, 24; Plutarch, *Ser. num. vind.* 7, mentions the oracle of the whip, without speaking of the 100 years. He represents the oracle as given in consequence of an outrage of the Sicyonians on a boy of Cleonæ, who was returning from the Pythian games. It cannot, therefore, have been given till after the gymnic contests had been added to the Pythia, *i.e.* till after 590 or 586 B.C.

[2] Nicol. Damasc. *Fragm.* 61.

ascend the throne of his father-in-law, and if he did, why it failed. Soon after this date Megacles is deeply involved in the party-conflicts of Athens. As it is distinctly stated that the institutions of Clisthenes continued in force after his death, we must assume that the families of the tribe of the Archelai, and the citizens and peasants divided among them, *i.e.* the old population, were strong enough to repress the Dorian nobles, even without a protector. For sixty years after the death of Clisthenes, as Herodotus says, this constitution, *i.e.* the rule of the Archelai, continued at Sicyon; it was in force, therefore, till towards the end of the sixth century. Afterwards it was changed by general agreement;[1] the Dorian tribes were reinstated in their old honours, and the fourth tribe of the Ægialeis was co-ordinated with them. Thus was the aristocratic constitution restored.

Under what circumstances the restoration of the Dorian tribes took place we do not know. We can only perceive that, after a suppression lasting through 150 years, and reaching the highest point of severity in the last eighty years, the power of the Dorians was quite inadequate to bring about such a result. After the middle of the sixth century the Spartans had succeeded in acquiring the control of a considerable part of the Peloponnesian communities. When Elis, the cantons of Arcadia, Corinth, and in 515 B.C. Megara, were gained for the Spartan alliance, the Archelai of Sicyon may have thought it unwise to wait for the interference of Sparta in behalf of the Dorians. They may have held out a hand towards that union of which Herodotus speaks. At the very beginning of the fifth century we find Sicyon in the confederacy of Sparta. The

[1] Herod. 5, 68.

Spartans could have found more than one reason for interfering in the city. It was not merely a disgrace even to the Spartan nobility that their kindred were oppressed in Sicyon, deprived of their ancient tribal names, and marked with infamy; it was the interest of Spartan politics to strengthen the Dorians against the ancient population, to maintain or restore the aristocracy where it was endangered and overthrown. Sparta strengthened her own power when she supported the aristocracies in the cantons of the Peloponnesus against the rising classes, and by this means brought the nobility which she maintained or restored into lasting dependence upon her. The policy which tended in the direction of aristocracy was also the best policy for Sparta's interests, and contributed essentially to the establishment of her state. In the year 506 B.C. the Spartans, with their allies, set out with a great armament to restore the aristocracy in Athens, and were thus brought to the north of the Peloponnesus. The restoration of the Dorian nobles at Sicyon concerned them more than the restoration of the Attic aristocracy. During this campaign, or soon after, the restoration at Sicyon may have taken place. Sicyon was at the same time restored to her participation in the sacrificial community at Argos. That the Dorian nobility did not misuse the three votes which they now regained against the Ægialians, and adhered to the compromise, is proved by the fact that the constitution then established was not altered till a later time in a severely aristocratical direction.[1] But the fact that the Dorian tribes were the leading power in Sicyon after the end of the sixth century is emphasised by the fidelity with which Sicyon adhered to the league with Sparta in the

[1] Thucyd. 1, 85.

Persian and Peloponnesian wars.[1] When Cleomenes marched in 495 B.C. against Argos from Sparta, he demanded ships from Ægina and Sicyon to convey his troops over the Gulf of Argos. They were furnished. The war ended with the severest defeat that Argos ever suffered. Some years afterwards (490 B.C.)[2] the Argives imposed a fine of 500 talents on Sicyon for the transgression against the sacred law of the old league. Sicyon paid 100 talents.

[1] That Clisthenes himself cannot have been deposed, as O. Müller thinks (*Dorier*, 1, 164), is proved by Herodotus's words (5, 68), that his ordinances continued not only during his reign, but for sixty years after his death. The tyrant Æschines of Sicyon, who is mentioned in the treatise, *De Malignitate Herodoti* (c. 21), as one of those put down by Sparta, might have reigned between 565 B.C. and 506 B.C., but the words of Herodotus do not allow us to suppose that there were violent factions and insurrections in Sicyon during this period. This Æschines may very well have belonged to some other later date.

[2] *Infra*, Book 6, chap. 5.

CHAPTER VII.

THEAGENES OF MEGARA.

THE rebellion of the lower classes against the rule of the nobility, which in Corinth and Sicyon had brought about the establishment of the new monarchy, led to similar results in Epidaurus and Megara. In Epidaurus it was Procles who overthrew the aristocratic government (about 640 B.C.). In order to consolidate his new authority over Epidaurus and Ægina—an authority which, according to Plutarch, he exercised with savage cruelty,[1]—he attached himself to one of the old principalities which continued to exist here and there among the mountains of Arcadia. He took to wife the daughter of Aristocrates, king of Orchomenus. Aristocrates was subsequently put to death by the Arcadians; but, by marrying his daughter to Periander, the powerful prince of Corinth, Procles might seem to have amply redeemed his loss. On the contrary Procles himself fell into the hands of Periander, and Epidaurus became subject to Corinth (about 600 B.C.).[2]

After freeing herself from Corinth, Megara became

[1] Plut. *Pyth. Orac.* 19.

[2] *Supra*, p. 364. Aristocrates of Orchomenus was put to death after the battle at the great trench, *i.e.* after 640 B.C. Hence the marriage of Procles with Eristhenea preceded that date. The husband of her daughter, Periander, succeeds to the throne in 625 B.C. Procles's accession may therefore be placed about 640 B.C. The statement of Plutarch (*Pyth. Orac.* 19) about the death of Procles cannot be harmonised with Herodotus (3, 52).

a naval power. Whatever land on the mountains admitted of cultivation, the plain round Megara, and the better part of the upland pastures, fell into the hands of the ruling class, whose acres were tilled and their flocks tended by tributary peasants and slaves. The majority of the population, confined to narrow plots and scanty pastures, soon found it necessary to seek a living on the sea, which washed the shores of Megara on the east and west. We have seen that as early as 728 B.C. the Megarians founded Sicilian Megara, that even before the middle of the seventh century they had secured the entrance into the Black Sea (the Bosphorus) by the two colonies of Chalcedon and Byzantium, and had built Selymbria on the north shore of the Propontis.[1] Megara kept pace with the navigation of Corinth in the west, and on the Ægean she far outstripped her. In the middle of the seventh century Chalcis and Eretria alone continued to surpass the marine of Megara, as they surpassed that of Corinth, in voyages to the west.

The growth of the colonies of Megara in the east and west, due in the one case to the excellence of the situation, in the other to the fertility of the soil, must have brought an extensive maritime trade to the native city. In this way it gave rise to an active, which was soon a prosperous, class of citizens, whose fortunate condition caused the peasants to be more sensitive to the burdens which they had to bear. The foundation of Selinus in Sicily and the reinforcement of Byzantium, which took place in the year 628 B.C., did not suffice to remove from the land every element of discontent. Aristotle tells us that the hatred which the people who laboured on the soil cherished towards the wealthy

[1] *Supra*, p. 11.

induced them to repose confidence in a warrior named Theagenes. To him they looked for help and protection. With his adherents he fell upon the herds of the rich when pasturing by a river, and destroyed them. After he had succeeded in obtaining the protection of a bodyguard, he seized the reins of government, about the time when Periander ascended the throne of Cypselus at Corinth (625 B.C.).[1] With regard to the nature of the government of Theagenes, we can only conclude, from very scanty indications, that he used his power after the pattern of the princes of Corinth and Sicyon. We hear of a splendid aqueduct which he built to convey the water from the springs of Mount Kerata, in the north of the country, to the city. Pausanias calls the work "worth seeing," on account of its size, ornamentation, and the number of the columns.[2] Remains of it are visible to this day.

Miltiades, the son of Tisander, a member of one of the oldest and proudest of the noble families of Attica, had gained the hand of the daughter of Cypselus of Corinth. In like manner Cylon, an Attic noble of an old and distinguished house, who in the year 640 B.C. had been a victor in the double course at Olympia, sought the hand of the daughter of Theagenes. His suit was accepted. Relying on the adherents whom he possessed in Attica, the bitter feeling of the Attic

[1] Aristot. *Pol.* 5, 4, 5 = 1305 *a* 24; Rhet. 1, 2 ff = 1357 *b* 34; Thucyd. 1, 126. We can only draw conclusions about the date of Theagenes from the attempt of his son-in-law, and of this we only know that it was subsequent to the legislation of Draco. This legislation falls in 621 B.C. As Cylon had been victor in Olympia as early as 640 B.C., and it was his object to avail himself of the discontent of the citizens and peasants of Athens which arose from the destruction of their hopes by Draco's laws, I prefer to put Cylon's attack on the Acropolis in 616 B.C., rather than 612 B.C.; and the accession of Theagenes in 625 B.C., *i.e.* not long after the founding of Selinus (628 B.C.) and the reinforcement of Byzantium.

[2] Pausan. 1, 40, 1.

citizens and peasants towards the nobles, who had deceived their hopes of a less oppressive code of law, and on the power of his father-in-law, Cylon attempted to make himself master of Athens by a *coup d'état*. He wished to establish a tyranny in Athens as it had been established in Corinth, Epidaurus, and Megara. With the soldiers sent by Theagenes, and his own adherents from the country, he made an attack on the Acropolis of Athens at the moment when the Olympic festival was being celebrated (midsummer, 616 B.C.), and captured it.

However embittered the peasants and citizens of Attica might be against the nobility, the occupation of the citadel and the sanctuaries of the land by foreign soldiers was not, in their eyes, the act of a friend; it was invasion by a hostile neighbour. From all sides they flocked, nobles and peasants, to resist the incursion of the enemy, and help the government. Cylon was besieged in the Acropolis. He escaped before the provisions were consumed. Whether Theagenes attempted to relieve the blockade, and failed, we do not know. Under pressure of famine Cylon's associates and the Megarian soldiers abandoned the defence, and placed themselves as suppliants at the altar of Athene in the Erechtheum. The archons placed guards round the shrine. When some of the suppliants died of hunger, the remainder were induced by the archons, on the understanding "that no harm should be done to them," to leave the shrine and the Acropolis. No sooner were the exhausted men beyond the citadel than the archons fell upon them at the foot of the hill, with the armed soldiers who had guarded the shrine. They were all massacred, even those who succeeded in reaching the altars of the Eumenides on the hill of Ares.[1]

[1] *Infra*, chap. 9.

A solemn promise had been broken; a sin of blood-guiltiness had been committed against the gods; soldiers of Megara had fallen as victims. Theagenes must avenge them. If Cylon succeeded in making himself master of Athens by open war, so much the better. On sea Megara was unquestionably superior to Athens. The coasts of Attica could be laid waste, her fisheries suspended, her maritime trade checked. The fleet of Athens (the forty-eight triremes of the Naucraries) proved itself no match for Megara. At a later time, when Athens had thrown the power of Megara into the shade, the Megarians showed with pride the bronze beak of an Attic trireme which hung in the temple of Zeus, beneath the citadel of Alcathous. This beak had been captured in the present war.[1] But Theagenes inflicted the heaviest blow on Athens when he took from her the island of Salamis, which commanded the west coast of Attica, Phalerum, the harbour of Athens, and the whole Saronic Gulf. That Megara might retain possession of the island for ever, he caused it to be occupied by Megarian settlers, by which means he was also able to provide for a considerable number of indigent citizens.[2] It is true that Solon succeeded in landing soldiers on Salamis, and recapturing the island, but, owing to the bitterness of party faction which paralysed the power of Athens during these years, or the superiority of the Megarian fleet, the possession of the island could not be maintained. For a number of years Salamis remained in the hands of Megara. Not till the end of the Sacred war, when Solon's constitution and laws had removed the strife of orders in Attica, were the Athenians able to resume the conflict. At that time (about 580 B.C.) they succeeded in

[1] Pausan. 1, 40, 4.

[2] Pausan. *loc. cit.*

repulsing an incursion of the Megarians into their land at Eleusis. Afterwards, under the command of Pisistratus, a youthful noble, they were able to gain the advantage over the Megarians. A descent which the Megarians made upon the Attic coast at the promontory of Colias miscarried. The intention was to capture the matrons of Athens who celebrated the Thesmophoria to Demeter in Pyanepsion (October), performed nocturnal rites at Halimus in the neighbourhood of the promontory of Colias, and afterwards danced upon the seashore. Pisistratus overcame the Megarians when landing, seized their ships, and hastened with them to Nisæa, the port of Megara, which he captured. He nearly succeeded in taking Megara itself, and maintained his possession of the harbour. This was a deadly blow to Megara. What advantage was it to possess Salamis? The Attic garrison at Nisæa interrupted all communication with Byzantium and Chalcedon, their colonies on the Bosphorus, and entirely annihilated their trade with the east (about 575 B.C.).[1]

Theagenes was certainly not at the helm when Megara was overtaken by this disaster. We know no more than that he was expelled, and that his expulsion was due to the nobility. When this took place, whether after the time that the war against Attica had taken an unfavourable turn, or even earlier, we cannot decide. The aristocracy once more ruled the city, and at first with moderation, to which the distress of the war may have contributed.[2] The first object was to rescue

[1] *Infra*, chap. 15.

[2] Plutarch (*Quæst. Græc.* 18) records the expulsion of Theagenes, and represents it as followed by a moderate government, after which the people are seduced by demagogues. We may assume that the people did not expel their protector, and that they did not permit his

Megara from her deplorable situation. As there was no prospect of wresting Nisæa from the Athenians by force of arms, it was agreed that the long contention, which had gone on for forty years—with a considerable interruption, it is true—should be settled by the decision of a third state. It was, no doubt, Megara which proposed Sparta as the umpire. From the nobles of Sparta, who had just consolidated their power against the universal advance of tyranny and democracy, the nobles of Megara might expect an equitable sentence. And the sentence was most equitable under the circumstances. The cession of the harbour of Megara by the Athenians was balanced by the restitution of Salamis by the Megarians (about 570 B.C.).[1]

Peace was at last established. Megara emerged from the war without loss of land or citizens. She was now at liberty to heal the wounds which the long contest had inflicted, to resume her navigation and trade without hindrance. But the evils of the war were incurable. The strength of the little community had been exhausted. The naval supremacy of Megara was over, though the aristocracy were at pains to support trade, and resuscitate it after a long interruption. In the year 600 B.C., during the war between Athens and Megara, the Samians had built the city of Perinthus in a very favourable situation on the north shore of the Propontis, where a steep promontory runs

expulsion till the war brought losses upon them. That the nobles were in power when the Spartans were called in to decide the case seems to me evident for the following reasons. Theagenes would hardly have appealed to their decision. Megara was in great distress. At this very time Sparta was consolidating her aristocratic constitution by the Ephorate. The nobles of Sparta had an interest in supporting the aristocratic government in Megara by their decision, not in rendering it impossible.

[1] *Infra*, chap. 15.

out into the sea, between two harbours.[1] Lying at no great distance from Selymbria, the Megarian colony, Perinthus must have interfered with the trade between that city and the Thracians; and it might even endanger the connection of Megara with Chalcedon and Byzantium. The Megarians determined to wrest Perinthus from Samos, and occupy it themselves. By this means the rival town would become a new point of support in those waters, and the opportunity would be offered for removing from Megara all the elements which were discontented with the restoration of the nobility. The *Geomori, i.e.* the nobility who governed Samos, sent in all haste thirty triremes to support the Perinthians against the attack of Megara. The Megarian fleet was defeated, 600 Megarians were taken prisoners, and carried to Samos. The crews of the Samian fleet were inclined to democracy; they requested the Megarian prisoners to aid them in overthrowing the nobility, and promised, in return, to receive them among the citizens of Samos. Apparently in fetters, but secretly provided with swords, the prisoners were brought to the council chamber, when the fleet cast anchor in the harbour of Samos. Here sat the majority of the *Geomori*, side by side. At the concerted signal the Megarians fell upon them and massacred them. This bloody deed was the foundation of the democracy of Samos. Of the Megarians who executed it, so many as wished became citizens of Samos (565 B.C.).[2]

The failure of the attempt upon Perinthus did not

[1] The Armenian Eusebius puts the foundation of Camarina in an. Abrah. 1418 = *Olymp.* 45, 2 = 599 B.C. Syncellus makes the foundation of Perinthus contemporary with that of Camarina, p. 453, ed. Bonn.

[2] Plut. *Quæst. Græc.* 57. During the war with Athens the Megarians could hardly think of involving themselves with Perinthus and Samos. The rule of the nobility was restored in Samos towards the middle of the century; from these factors we get the vague date given in the text.

increase the power of the restored nobility. The events in Samos, and the part which the Megarians took in them, could only exercise an evil influence on Megara. Nor was this the only mischief. The fall of the Lydian kingdom, and the advance of the Persians to the coast of the Ægean Sea soon after the middle of the century, and the consequent subjugation of the Greek cities of Asia, cannot have been an advantage to the trade of Megara in the Propontis. The supremacy, which the princes of Athens, Naxos, and Samos afterwards gained in the Ægean, naturally destroyed the trade of Megara. While her power and importance were obviously declining, the avaricious spirit, which had forced its way even into the circle of the ruling class, still retained its force. There were nobles who could not be content with the produce of their flocks and estates, and the tribute of the peasants. Whatever the pride of blood with which they looked down on the citizens and peasants, they did not think it unbecoming to marry the daughters of such citizens, or give their own daughters to them in marriage—a proceeding which the staunch adherents of the old order of things viewed with alarm and pain. In such a confusion of noble and simple they saw the rapid approach of the ruin of Megara.[1] Impoverished citizens and farmers could only obtain loans at heavy interest,[2] and the moderation with which the nobles began their renewed dominion was exchanged for pride and violence.[3]

[1] Theogn. 183-192 Bergk. [2] Plut. *Quæst. Græc.* 18.
[3] Theogn. 541, 542; 603, 604; 1103, 1104.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REBELLION OF THE MESSENIANS.

THE democratic movement, which had given rise to the new monarchy in Corinth and Sicyon, in Megara and Epidaurus, was strengthened and promoted by an element of tribal feeling. Among the citizens and peasants, or, at any rate, along with them, the old population had risen against the descendants of the Dorian conquerors, who formed the entire ruling order, or at least the preponderating part of their *gentes*. For the most part the new rulers were protectors against the Dorian race set up by the lower orders, who were descended from the old population. In Elis this rebellion of the old population against the supremacy of the descendants of the invading Ætolians, who had come with the Dorians into the Peloponnesus, made itself felt in another way. We saw how the Pisatans regained the sacrificial precincts of Olympia; how they compelled the Eleans, towards the year 660 B.C., to share with them the management of the Olympic sacrifice and festival; how from this time Eleans and Pisatans exercised a joint control, with equal rights, and a man from each nation was chosen as Hellenodices. In order to maintain at least an equal claim with the Pisatans to the management, the Eleans made a descendant of Pelops of Pisa the joint-founder of their state, and

sought to transform Pelops himself into a hero of their community.[1]

The movement of the impoverished and oppressed population of the Peloponnesus was not checked, even at the borders of the Spartan state. Seventy years had passed since the Spartans had conquered the Messenians, and imposed on those who remained in the land, in spite of their Dorian blood, a severe yoke, under which they moved, "like asses, bowed down with heavy burdens." Now they rose against this oppression. The rebellion is said to have broken out at Andania, on the north border of the land, near Arcadia; the call to arms was raised by Aristomenes, the son of Nicomedes, a descendant of Æpytus.[2] The revolt was joined by the Messenians of Hyamea, the district which the Androclidæ had received as the reward of their treachery, and by the old Achæan population of Pylus and Methone.[3] Achæans and conquered Dorians united against their Dorian masters (645 B.C.).[4]

Strabo informs us that the "Messenians rebelled with the support of the Pisatæ, the Argives, and Arcadians; on their side also fought the descendants of Nestor (*i.e.* the Achæans of Pylus). The Arcadians furnished a leader in Aristocrates, king of Orchomenus; the Pisatæ in Pantaleon, the son of Omphalion.[5] There is the less reason to doubt that the rebellion broke out in the territory bordering on Arcadia, for in the mountains of this district the Messenian farmers and shepherds might have maintained their freedom. Whether it began precisely at Andania is not so certain. After the restoration of Messenia this place became a centre

1 Strabo, p. 355 ff; *supra*, p. 246 ff. 2 Diod. 15, 66.
3 *Supra*, p. 55.
4 The reasons for this date are given, *supra*, p. 69, note.
5 Strabo, pp. 355; 362; Pausan. 6, 22, 2; 3.

of worship, and thus it may have been suggested to the legend. The Dorians of Messenia had previously been in connection with the neighbouring Arcadians. Cresphontes is said to have married the daughter of Cypselus of Trapezus, and the son of Cypselus restored Æpytus to the throne of Messenia. The Spartans had wrested from the Arcadians the districts of Ægys, Belmina, and Sciris; more recently they had attempted to conquer Phigalia, and had fought with the Oresthasians. Argos had more urgent reasons still to support the rebellion. The Spartans had just taken from her the peninsula of Parnon, the south-eastern coast of the Peloponnesus, and the island of Cythera.[1]

[1] *Supra*, p. 90. That in Strabo, p. 362, we ought to read Πυλίους for Ἠλείους, follows from p. 355, where the descendants of Nestor are distinctly called allies of the Messenians, and the Eleans help the Spartans. How could the Eleans fight under Pantaleon of Pisa for the Messènians when he had just taken from them the management of the Olympic games? The same reasons, and the entire relations between Sparta and Elis, as they had grown up since 744 B.C., tell against the statement, which was doubtless known to Pausanias, that the Eleans fought on the side of the Messenians. In Pausanias this assertion goes back to the poem of Rhianus, from whom, as he allows, he borrowed his narrative. This epic of Aristomenes invented a great war in which Argos and Sicyon, together with the Eleans, Arcadians, and Eleusinians fought on the side of the Messenians, the Lepreatæ, Corinthians, and Cretan bowmen (Pausan. 4, 19, 4; 20, 8), on the side of the Lacedæmonians. It is certain that Corinth, under the Cypselidæ (655-581 B.C.), sent no help to the Spartans; Sicyon under the Orthagoridæ (665-565 B.C.) can hardly have assisted the Messenians, and the Cretan archers belong to a much later time. Whether the reason given for the conduct of the Lepreatæ, that they took the side of the Spartans out of hatred to the Eleans (4, 15, 8), belongs to Rhianus or Pausanias we cannot decide, but it is certain that the hatred first rose in the sixth century, *i.e.* after 580 B.C., when the Eleans, after completely subjugating the Pisatæ, sought to extend their district to the north border of Messenia. This statement about the "hatred," which so greatly anticipates events, is contradicted by another statement of Pausanias that Aristomenes had married one of his daughters to a man of Lepreum (4, 24, 1). Rhianus seems to have put the Eleans, to whom in his day both Elis and Pisa belonged, in the place of the Pisatæ. The Eleusinians are made allies of the Messenians, owing to the rites of Andania. Pausan. 4, 15, 7.

According to the tradition of the Messenians the Lacedæmonians were defeated in a great battle at the "Boar's Monument," in the plain of Stenyclarus, the place at which Heracles was said to have concluded a treaty with the vanquished sons of Neleus. "Even in my time," says Pausanias, "this song was sung: 'To the midst of the plain of Stenyclarus, to the heights of the mountains, Aristomenes chased the Lacedæmonians.'"[1] There is no doubt that the rebellion broke the series of successes, which the Spartans had recently gained against Argos, in a most serious manner. The rebels were victorious; Messenia was lost. The blow was felt first and most severely by those families of the Spartans who had lands in Messenia only. It is quite intelligible that these considered it unfair for them to bear the weight of the war, and that they demanded support. They asked for allotments in the valley of the Eurotas. Thus to the disasters of war was added domestic strife. The framework of the Spartan power was shaken to the foundation. It was impossible to deprive the families of the ruling order—who were settled in the valley of the Eurotas—of their lands, and to redivide them, or to seize upon the lands of the Periœci there,—for they would have been driven into the arms of the Messenians. Aristotle remarks that "in aristocracies dissension arises because one party is in too great poverty, the other too rich,—especially if this happens during a war. This was the case at Lacedæmon in the Messenian war, as we may see from the poem of Tyrtæus, entitled 'Eunomia.' Those who were ruined by the war demanded a redivision of the land."[2] Pausanias also observes that poverty had found its

[1] Pausan. 4, 16, 6.

[2] *Pol.* 5, 6, 2 = 1306 *b ult.*

way into Sparta, and, in consequence, civil strife. The Spartans resolved that Messenia and the adjacent strip of land should remain uncultivated while the war lasted, that the predatory bands of Messenians issuing from Eira might not find corn in the district. Hence arose distress, and, in consequence, faction. Those whose property was in this quarter would not allow it to be laid waste. In this version the calamities of war are changed into a resolution, intended to defeat the incursions of the Messenians. "The strife of parties," Pausanias continues, "was reconciled by Tyrtæus; and when they were dispirited after their defeat, and wished to discontinue the war, he changed their mood by singing his elegies."[1]

We have the less reason to doubt that the rebellion was successful, because we find that the allies of the rebels, and, according to Strabo, even their leader Pantaleon, the king of the Pisatæ, were at the same time successful against the Eleans. He offered the sacrifice at Olympia in the year 644 B.C., and conducted the contests, which had just been enlarged, without allowing the Eleans to participate. The intention was doubtless to expel the Eleans completely. The conquerors were attacked on the Alpheus as well as the Pamisus.

It was not by their kings that the Spartans were rescued from their danger and dissension. "Tyrtæus," Strabo says, "was the leader of the Lacedæmonians in this war;"[2] and Philochorus: "The Lacedæmonians overcame the Messenians by the aid of their general, Tyrtæus."[3] In Plato's treatise on the Laws we read: "Tyrtæus, who was by birth an Athenian, became a

[1] Pausan. 4, 16, 6; 18, 3.

[2] Strabo, p. 362.

[3] In Athenæus, p. 631.

citizen of Lacedæmon; and from that city his poems came to Athens."[1] "What Hellene is ignorant," asks the orator Lycurgus, "that the Lacedæmonians received their general Tyrtæus from our city, with whom they conquered the enemy and arranged the education of their youth, taking thought not for the immediate danger only, but for all time?"[2] "In the elegiac poem which bears the title 'Eunomia,'" Strabo observes, "Tyrtæus calls himself a Lacedæmonian, saying: 'With the Heraclidæ we left windy Erineus, and came to the broad island of Pelops.' If this elegy is right, we cannot believe Philochorus, Callisthenes, and other authorities that Tyrtæus came from Athens and Aphidnæ, at the request of the Lacedæmonians, who had been bidden by an oracle to obtain a leader from the Athenians."[3] Diodorus relates: "When they were beaten by the Messenians, the Spartans sent to Delphi; the god bade them take a leader from Athens, and the Athenians sent Tyrtæus." In Justin we are told that the Athenians, out of contempt, sent the Spartans Tyrtæus, a lame poet, under whose guidance the Spartans, being defeated in three battles, were brought to the brink of destruction. The kings wished to take the army home, but Tyrtæus, by reciting his poems, in which he exhorted the soldiers to bravery, comforted them on their reverses, and gave advice to the kings, roused the Spartans to such courage that they were finally victorious.[4] In Pausanias the oracle bids the Spartans obtain a councillor from Athens. When they asked for one, the Athenians, though they would not disobey the god, were not at all desirous that the Spartans should reconquer the best part of the Peloponn-

[1] *De Legg.* p. 629. [2] Lycurg. *c. Leocrat.* 108.
[3] Strabo, p. 362. [4] Diod. *Exc. Vat.* p. 12 = 8, 27; Justin. 3, 5.

nesus without any risk. "So they resolved to send Tyrtæus, who taught reading and writing, a man apparently of little intellect, and lame in one foot. Arriving at Sparta, Tyrtæus sang his elegies and anapæsts, both to those in office separately, and to all whom he could collect."[1]

The legend of the lame poet and schoolmaster whom the Athenians sent, out of contempt, to the Spartans, is obviously of very recent origin. It has arisen out of the later opposition between Sparta and Athens. We find it in the most pointed form in Pausanias. Neither Plato nor Lycurgus nor Philochorus know anything of it; in these authors Tyrtæus is distinguished for military skill and efficiency. We may disregard the fiction with the less hesitation that it is self-contradictory, even in the version of Pausanias. No sooner has the foolish pedagogue arrived at Sparta than he begins to sing highly effective elegies and anapæsts. We might go even further and allow ourselves to speculate that Tyrtæus, the son of Archimbrotus, was not an Athenian at all, but that he has been claimed by Athenians for the glory of their city. Strabo, as we have seen, regards Tyrtæus as a Lacedæmonian. We find that there is a place named Aphidnæ in Laconia, and a statement in Suidas speaks of Tyrtæus as a Laconian.[2] Yet the proof which Strabo produces for his opinion is insufficient. The words of Tyrtæus, "we came with the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus," are obviously composed in the name of the Dorians of Sparta, and Tyrtæus might be called a Laconian if he received the right of citizenship in Sparta. Alcman lived soon after Tyrtæus at Sparta. He calls himself a Lydian of Sardis, yet in some

[1] Pausan. 4, 15, 6. [2] Steph. B. Ἀφιδνα; Suidas, Τυρταῖος.

authorities he is a Laconian of Mesoa.[1] Pausanias of Sparta, the conqueror of Platæa, when asked why the citizenship of Sparta was granted to Tyrtæus, is said to have replied: "That it might not be said that a stranger had been the leader of our armies."[2]

Even if this answer be a fiction, the silence of Spartan tradition about Tyrtæus and the whole subject of the second Messenian war is the best proof that Tyrtæus was not of Spartan origin. The loss is not ours only. Pausanias had before him the complete list of the kings of Sparta and their traditions. From these he has preserved for us a continuous excerpt, with statements from a very ancient date, and apparently in part quite accurate. He found that Theopompus and Polydorus had been leaders in the first Messenian war, and on the ground of Spartan tradition he contradicts the statements of Messenian legend about them. For the second Messenian war he could not even ascertain the names of the kings who carried it on. In order to discover them he falls back on the hint in the verses of Tyrtæus that "the fathers of our fathers" had carried on the first war, and looks for the corresponding kings in the lists. The tradition of the Spartans had good reason for concealment. Defeats and party struggles had to be hidden out of sight; it was necessary to obliterate the fact that an alien had been the leader of the state. Silence and secrecy were unavoidable.

The legend of the great rebellion of the Messenians in the form in which it was narrated after the restoration of Messenia, and then treated in an epic form by Rhianus, ascribed the salvation of Sparta to the aid which she received from the Dioscuri. This is clear from the excerpt which Pausanias has preserved from

[1] Suidas, Ἀλκμάν. [2] Plut. *Apophtheg. Lacon.* p. 230.

the poem of Rhianus. We are acquainted with the ancient place of worship of the Dioscuri and Helen at Therapne, which fell into the hands of Sparta with or after the conquest of Amyclæ, the worship which they rendered to the two deities of light, who after that time became symbols and emblems of the united commonwealth, the double monarchy (vol. i. p. 447). In Attica the chief seat of the worship of the Dioscuri and Helen was Aphidnæ, on the eastern declivity of Parnes.[1] A legend of the Greeks which was already current in the second half of the seventh century,[2] connected Therapne and Aphidnæ by the story that Theseus carried away Helen from Therapne, and concealed her at Aphidnæ. When the Dioscuri came out to seek their stolen sister, Decelus, the tribal ancestor of Decelea, a community bordering on Aphidnæ, led them to the place, and Titacus, the eponymn of Titacidæ, another hamlet in the neighbourhood of Aphidnæ, betrayed the stronghold to them. A reconciliation took place, and Aphidnus, the prince of Aphidnæ, adopted the Dioscuri as his sons. For the service which Decelus rendered the Dioscuri, the Spartans allowed the citizens of Decelea the rights of proëdria and immunity if they came to Sparta, as we learn from Herodotus.[3]

We know what efficacy the Greeks ascribed to the correct invocation of the gods, and the proper praises of them. If the Spartans, owing to the misfortunes which overtook them in the war with the Messenians, thought that they had lost the favour of the Dioscuri, and consequently desired to regain their help, they

[1] Bursian, *Geograph.* 1, 336.

[2] This is proved by the poem of Alcman (*Fragg.* 4, 5 Bergk) and the picture on the chest of Cypselus. Pausan. 5, 19, 3.

[3] Herod. 9, 73; Plut. *Thes.* 32, 33; Pausan. 1, 17, 6.

might feel themselves inclined to summon a minstrel of the Dioscuri from an ancient seat of their worship, in order that his prayers and praises might regain for them the favour of the hero-spirits. They might be induced to take this step with or without the Delphic oracle; and we may certainly venture to ascribe the honours which the Deceleans received at Sparta to the close connection of Tyrtæus and Decelea, in preference to the services of the supposed Decelus to the Dioscuri. Sparta was never averse to minstrels from other nations. We have seen what a position Terpander occupied as a teacher of music in that city in the first half of the seventh century; after Tyrtæus we find Polymnestus of Colophon as a teacher of music on the banks of the Eurotas. Alcman the Lydian is said to have gained a great reputation there by his verses, and to have received the citizenship of Sparta.[1]

The scanty remains of the fragments of Tyrtæus prove that his exhortations to the Spartans were intended to maintain the existing constitution. He urged upon them endurance in the struggle, confidence in the recovery of what was lost and the prosperous issue of the war; he excited them to manly courage after the manner of their fathers, as became descendants and warriors of the Heraclidæ, and contempt of death. However urgent his exhortations and impressive his verses, they could hardly have had any important effect if he had not confirmed his teaching by his own example in the battle—if the son of Archimbrotus had not been, like Archilochus, at once a servant of the Muses and of Ares.

The Spartans were discouraged and brought very low. They even thought of leaving the land and

[1] *Infra*, Book 5, chap. 1.

taking to flight, as we see from the following verses of Tyrtæus: "It is a fair thing when a brave man falls amid the foremost, contending for his country. But to leave his city and rich tilth, to wander as a beggar in an alien land, that is of all things the most shameful. With mother and aged father, with little children and the wife of thy youth, thou goest forth; and wheresoever he goes, he is hated whom want and poverty oppress. Such an one is a disgrace to his kindred, and himself gainsays the noble promise of his form; shame and contempt attend him. If, then, the wanderer receives neither favour nor reverence, neither respect nor sympathy, let us fight boldly for this land, and for our children, and die without thought of our lives."[1]

Other fragments show how Tyrtæus reminded the Spartans that the fathers of their fathers persisted bravely in the struggle for twenty years, till the Messenians left the heights of Ithome. He told them that the gods themselves had given them Sparta, and the gift of the gods ought not to be abandoned, and could not be lost. Their constitution also was the work of a divine oracle. If its sacred ordinances were upheld, blessing and prosperity must ensue. "Cronion himself, the lord of fair-crowned Hera, gave the city to the Heraclidæ, with whom we, leaving the windy Erinéus, came to Pelops's broad island. Receiving them from Phœbus, they brought home from Pytho the utterances of the god, and his unfailing words. Thus spake the king of the golden locks, the far-darter with the silver bow, from his rich sanctuary. The kings honoured of heaven shall be lords in the council, they to whom Sparta's noble city is given to watch over; then the revered Gerontes, and after

[1] *Fragm.* 10, 1-14 Bergk.

them the men of the people, each to the other replying with righteous speech. All must be truly spoken and justly done; let there be no crooked counsels in the city; let sovereignty and power attend the people, as Phœbus has announced."[1]

"Up! ye are the seed of Heracles, the invincible. Take courage, Zeus has not yet in wrath turned his face from you. Fear not the number of the enemy, nor flee. Let each man hold his shield firmly against the foe. The enemy of his own life, let him greet the dark lot of death as though it were the pleasant light of the sun. Well are ye skilled in the destroying work of Ares, who bringeth tears; ye have learned the wrath of cruel war; ye have been among the flying and the pursuers, ye young men; in both ye have had your fill. They who are bold to stand side by side in the conflict and advance against the foe rarely fall, and they protect the people behind them. The coward loses every virtue, and no man can tell you all the misery which overtakes him. Shameful are the wounds which fall upon the neck of one flying from the battle; shameful is the corpse which lies in the dust thrust through the back. Close your ranks then, and each man plant both feet firm upon the ground; so stand, with teeth upon your lips. Cover shoulders, breast, thigh, and leg-piece with the wide shield; seize firmly with the right the mighty lance; let the plume wave its terrors from the head. Thus fighting, let each man learn to do noble deeds. Let no man with a shield turn from the reach of the enemy's darts; close up, man against man; with the long lance or the sword must every one lay his enemy low in the conflict. With foot planted against foot, thrusting shield

[1] *Fragm.* 2, 4 Bergk.

with shield, with helm pressed against helm, plume against plume, and breast against breast, fight with the foe, grasping the sword or the lance in the hand. Let the light-armed hide themselves on all sides behind their shields, hurl great stones, and throw smooth javelins, ever standing near the heavy-armed."[1] "So fight, ye young men, remaining side by side. Away with terror and shameful flight. Let the courage in your breasts be great and strong, and when ranged against men, love not your lives. Fly not, nor leave behind your elder comrades whose knees are no longer supple, and the aged. Shameful it is when, in the first rank, before the youths an aged man lies low, whose head is white and his beard gray, breathing out his brave spirit in the dust; a shameful sight it is, and stirs anger in all, when he lies uncovered in his blood. But in the young man all is well and fair, while yet he preserves the fresh bloom of youth, glorious in the eyes of men, and beloved by women, so long as he lives, and beautiful when he lies dead in the front of the battle."[2] "I heed him not, nor regard him, who is not a brave man in battle, neither for the swiftness of his feet, nor for his skill in wrestling; nor if he has the bulk and strength of a Cyclops, or surpass Thracian Boreas in the course; nor if he be more graceful in form than Tithonus, and his treasures greater than those of Midas and Cinyras; nor if he is a mightier king than Pelops, son of Tantalus; no, nor if he has the sweet-sounding speech of Adrastus, and all the glory that may be,—but is not mighty in war, dares not to look blood-stained death in the face, and rise up to attack the foe. That is the highest virtue, that is the fairest prize which a young

[1] *Fragm.* 11 Bergk. [2] *Fragm.* 10, 14-30.

man wins among men. He is a common gain for the city and the whole people, who, forcing his way into the foremost ranks, there remains without flinching, forgets for ever shameful flight, stakes his own life, and encourages his comrade with his words. He is the brave warrior; and often has such a man, with the courage of a lion in his heart,[1] turned the thick troops of the enemy to flight, and with his zeal restrained the waves of battle. When he lost his life in the foremost rank he was a glory to his city, and his nation and father, pierced with many wounds through shield and corselet and breast. Then young and old lament him. The whole city mourns for him. His grave, and his children, and his children's children, and those that come after are honoured. His glory and his fame never die. Though under the earth, he is immortal, who, enduring in brave conflict for his land and his children, is overthrown by wild Ares. But if he escapes the doom of outstretching death, and wins the noble glory of the victorious lance, then all, young and old, pay him honour, and he passes into Hades after a life of joy. In his age he is pre-eminent among his citizens; no one will injure him in his rights and honours. All men, whether younger, or of equal age, aye! or older, rise up at his approach. Strive in your hearts to win this summit of virtue, and desist not from the war."[2]

Only one of the marching songs of Tyrtæus, intended to be sung when advancing to the attack, has been preserved. It runs thus: "Up, ye brave warriors, sons of manly Sparta! Throw forward the shield with the left, thrust boldly with the lance; be not careful of life—that is not the way of old in Sparta."[3] Philochorus tells us that when the Lacedæmonians had

[1] *Fragm.* 13. [2] *Fragm.* 12. [3] *Fragm.* 15.

conquered the Messenians, under the command of Tyrtæus, they adopted the custom that each man should sing a poem of Tyrtæus at their meals, when in the field. The polemarch decided who sang the best, and gave the victor a portion of flesh as a prize.[1]

It would seem that the Spartans had not long to wait for a return of good fortune. They had been compelled to give way before the rebellion of the Messenians from the borders of Arcadia, the union of the Messenians with the Periœci of Hyamea, the Achæans of Pylus and Methone, and the aid which had been given to the rising by the Pisatæ under Pantaleon, the Arcadians under Aristocrates of Orchomenus, and the Argives. They had lost the battle at the Boar's Monument, and had been driven back to the Eurotas. But before the year 640 B.C. the tide turned. We may conclude this from the fact that before this year the Pisatans, who were allies of the Messenians, had again come to terms with the Eleans, and the festival of 640 B.C. was conducted by the two nations in common. The Pisatæ must therefore have abandoned the hope of maintaining their single supremacy, and for this there can hardly have been any other cause than a defeat of their allies, the Messenians. There must have been some losses, either shared with the Messenians or incurred alone, and anxieties in regard to the restored power of Sparta, which could now assist the Eleans. Moreover, the "floruit" of Tyrtæus is placed precisely in this year.[2] Once more there is said to have been a severe battle at "the Great Trench;" and the Messenians are said to have been conquered. According to the Messenian legend the defeat was due

[1] Athenæus, p. 631. [2] Suidas, Τυρταῖος, *Olymp.* 35 = 640.

to the treachery of Aristocrates, the king of Orchomenus, who retired at the beginning of the battle. Polybius relates that the Arcadians, in the time of Aristomenes, and after the defeat of the Messenians in the battle at "the Trench," inquired into the conduct of Aristocrates, found him guilty of treachery, and slew him with all his race. The Messenians erected a memorial near the altar of Zeus on Mount Lycæus, with the following inscription, for which Callisthenes also vouched: "Time brought full vengeance on the unjust king; with the help of Zeus Messenia quickly discovered the traitor. Hard is it for the perjured man to remain hidden from the wrath of heaven. Hail to thee, Zeus! be thou the protector of Arcadia."[1]

However this may have been, the Arcadians were driven back by the Spartans to the borders of Arcadia. They could not maintain themselves on Ithome, in the centre of the land, as in the first war. It was only on the remote mountains on the north-west border, near the upland sources of the Neda, that the resistance could make a stand. Here the mountains rise to a height of more than 4000 feet. Between two of the sources of the Neda, which rush down foaming to the west, rises Eira, a steep summit, with thickly-wooded sides. Here defence was facilitated by the natural strength of the place and by the proximity of Arcadia. The approaches also to this mountain-country were easy to protect. The summit of Eira afforded a final refuge, and it was strengthened by a wall, which the existing ruins show to have been hastily constructed.[2] "For eleven summers and eleven winters the Spartans encamped round the ravines of the clear mountain"—so sang Rhianus.[3]

[1] Polyb. 4, 33; Pausan. 4, 22, 7.
[2] Bursian, *Geograph.* 2, 162. [3] Pausan. 4, 17, 11.

The legend of the Messenians, as it was thrown into a poetical form by Rhianus—who was a Cretan of Gortyn[1]—about the middle of the third century B.C., after it had been revived at the restoration of Messenia, has been preserved in its main outlines in the excerpt of Pausanias. It was to the following effect: The first battle was fought at Deræ. It was indecisive; but Aristomenes stole into Sparta by night, and there hung up a shield taken from the spoil in the temple of Athena on the citadel, with the inscription, 'From the Spartans.' When the Messenians, with the help of the Arcadians and the Argives, won the victory of the Boar's Monument, which Aristomenes, with eighty chosen Messenians, had decided, he offered to Zeus in Ithome a Hecatomphonia, *i.e.* a thank-offering for a hundred slain enemies.[2] But he pursued the Spartans too far. Disregarding the warning of the seer, who saw the Dioscuri sitting on a pear-tree to protect the retreat of the Spartans, he rushed wildly past the tree and lost his shield. He found it again in the sanctuary of Trophonius, whither the Pythia bade him descend. He plundered Pharis in Laconia, and was only prevented by the appearance of the Dioscuri and Helen from entering Sparta by night. From Caryæ he carried off some Spartan maidens who were celebrating the festival of Artemis with dances. These he restored uninjured to their parents for a heavy ransom. When he attempted to surprise the Spartan women who were celebrating the festival of Demeter at Ægila, the hero, by divine decree, was driven back by them with the sacrificial knives and spits, and even captured and put in bonds. But Archidamea, the priestess, released him in the same night, for she loved him; and gave

[1] Steph. Byz. Βήνη. [2] Plut. *Quæst. Conv.* 4, 1, 6.

out that Aristomenes had burnt his bonds by rolling in the fire. In the third year of the war there was another battle at "the Great Trench." The Arcadians, under king Aristocrates, fought with the Messenians. They stood in the centre and on the left wing. When the battle began Aristocrates, who had been bribed by the Spartans, retired through the ranks of the Messenians, and threw them into disorder. It was in vain that Aristomenes put forth all his courage; the best warriors of the Messenians fell, and the Spartans made a great slaughter of them. Aristomenes abandoned Andania and the other towns and withdrew, with the remains of the army, to Mount Eira. From this point he made plundering raids upon the part of Messenia which the Spartans had won, and the valley of the Eurotas. In one of these he was captured. He was rendered unconscious by the blow of a stone on the head; the Spartans then threw themselves upon him, and carried him away captive, with fifty other Messenians. With these he was carried to the chasm (Cæadas), into which persons condemned to death at Sparta are hurled, and thrown down. All his comrades were killed, but Aristomenes was supported in his fall by an eagle which spread its wings under him, and carried him safe to the bottom. For three days he lay in the ravine expecting death, when he perceived a fox which was gnawing the bones of the corpses. He followed the animal when it retired, till he saw a small aperture through which light gleamed. The fox slipped through. Aristomenes widened the hole with his hands, and so escaped.[1] Once more he made his power felt by the Lacedæmonians. He fell upon the Corinthians who had marched to the help of the Lacedæmonians,[1]

[1] *Supra*, p. 434, note.

and was once more able to offer to Zeus Ithomates the thank-offering for a hundred slain enemies. Afterwards, when the Lacedæmonians had concluded an armistice in order to celebrate the Hyacinthia, he was treacherously surprised by their Cretan bowmen and taken captive. He was brought to a Messenian farm, where a widow lived with her daughter. The daughter made the guards drunk, and cut the bonds of Aristomenes, who then slew them all. A third time he offered the sacrifice for a hundred slain. Then Eira fell. The shepherd of the Spartan Emperamus, who pastured his master's flock on the Neda, saw the wife of a Messenian when she came down from the citadel to draw water from the river. He seduced her, and, whenever her husband was away keeping guard, he visited her at her house, which lay without the fortification. It happened that on a stormy night the Messenians left their posts, being convinced that the enemy would never attack them in such weather. Among the rest the woman's husband returned unexpectedly home. The shepherd, who hid himself, heard the husband tell his wife that the rain had driven himself and his comrades from the walls. He hastened to carry the intelligence to the Spartans. They at once set out and climbed the defenceless walls. It was the barking of the dogs which first announced to the Messenians that the enemy were within the gates. All hastened to the defence, even the women. For three days and nights they fought in desperation, but then heaven lightened against them, and their powers were exhausted. Eira was taken amid "thunder and rain."[1] Then Aristomenes collected those who still remained, put the women and children

[1] Pausan. 4, 21, 7.

in the midst, and, by bowing his head and dropping his lance, gave them to understand that he required a free exit. The Spartans opened their ranks, and allowed the remnant to march through. We have no means of judging how closely Rhianus adhered to the legend. Aristomenes, the leader of the rebellion, is not a fiction; his name was mentioned at the restoration of Messenia; and the new state awarded him the honours of a hero.[1] Equally historical is the song of victory sung by the Messenians after the battle at the Boar's Monument. The discovery of the lost shield in the cave of Trophonius at Lebadea, the eagle which carried down Aristomenes into Cæadas with its outspread wings, are traits which rest on foundations far older than the poem of Rhianus. In the shrine of Trophonius there was a shield, on which an eagle extended its wings on either side. This shield Aristomenes either had, or was thought to have dedicated. It was shown to Pausanias.[2] Before the battle of Leuctra, the priests of Lebadea and the oracle of Trophonius bade the Thebans "not to thrust at the enemy with the lance, till they had set up a trophy and adorned the shield which the bold Messenian, Aristomenes, had put up in the temple; then would Trophonius destroy the host of the armed enemy."[3] An inscription which has been recently discovered in the neighbourhood of Thebes refers to the erection of this trophy by one of the seven Bœotarchs of the year, Xenocrates by name.[4] It bears the name of Xenocrates at the head.[5] For the rest the excerpts of Pausanias betray everywhere the hand of the poet. Three battles are fought, three times

[1] Pausan. 4, 14, 8; 32, 3.
[2] Pausan. 4, 16, 5; 9, 39, 14.
[3] Pausan. 4, 32, 5.
[4] Pausan. 9, 13, 6.
[5] *Bullet. de Corresp. hellénique*, 1877, p. 351; Gilbert in Jahn's *Jahrbüchern*, vol. 117, s. 304 ff.

does Aristomenes offer the sacrifice for a hundred slain enemies, three times is he captured, and three times set at liberty—twice by the favour and the hands of women, and once by the aid of the gods. In spite of his bravery and heroic courage he fails, because he has offended against the heavenly powers. When he attempts to carry off the Spartan women, who are celebrating the festival of Demeter, he, the bravest and mightiest of heroes, is overcome by women. He brought upon himself and his land the anger of the Dioscuri when, after the victory at the Boar's Monument, he rushed on past the deities, whom the seer saw sitting on a tree, to slay more Spartans. To the announcements given in a dream to Epaminondas, that he should restore to the Messenians their hereditary lands and cities, the intimation was added that the "anger of the Dioscuri was past."[1]

With regard to the fortunes of the Messenians after the failure of the rebellion and fall of Eira, Polybius tells us that the Arcadians received the fugitives. They not only allowed them the rights of citizens but gave their daughters to their sons in marriage. Pausanias also states that the fugitive Messenians escaped to Arcadia and Mount Lycæus. The Achæans of Pylus and Methone, who had fought for the Messenians (*supra*, p. 433), took ship and landed on the coast of Elis at Cyllene, where they were joined by the fugitives from Arcadia. The whole body then migrated to Rhegium,[3] at the foundation of which, more than eighty years before, the exiles of the first war had joined the Chalcidians.[4] The landing of the Pylians and Methonæans at Cyllene, and their stay there,

[1] Pausan. 4, 26, 6.
[2] Polyb. 4, 33.
[3] Pausan. 4, 23.
[4] *Supra*, pp. 72, 160.

which Pausanias mentions, show that they first attempted to establish a new home in the neighbourhood of the Achæan towns on this coast, just as the Minyæ, when retiring from the mouth of the Eurotas, had settled on the coasts of the Caucones, and the Parthenians had wished to settle in the neighbourhood of the Achæans on the Corinthian Gulf. The Eleans must have frustrated the intention of the Pylians. Aristomenes went to Rhodes, and there married his daughter to Damagetus, king of Ialysus. From this alliance was descended Diagoras, the son of Damagetus, who won the boxing match at Olympia in 464 B.C., was four times victorious at the Isthmia, twice at the Nemea, and frequently at the Pythia; the sons and grandsons also won numerous prizes.[1]

With the fall of Eira (631 B.C.),[2] the rebellion of the conquered and enslaved Dorians, of the Dorian and Achæan Periœci in Messenia, was successfully crushed. Messenia was once more in the possession of Sparta, who had renewed and secured her old position. The lands previously assigned to the ruling order in Messenia must have been given back to their old possessors. The new houses of the Spartans, who had grown up in the meantime, must also have received lands here; and the division was, no doubt, carried out on a greater scale than before. "When the Spartans were victorious," says Pausanias, "they divided the land by lot, and all the Messenians who had been taken prisoners at Eira and elsewhere, were reduced to the condition of Helots."[3] We also learn that Hyamea, the district which, at the conquest of Messenia, had been given to the Androclidæ, was confiscated, because

[1] Pind. *Olymp.* 7, 10, 81-84; Pausan. 6, 7, 1.
[2] *Supra*, p. 69, note. [3] Pausan. 4, 24, 4.

the Messenians settled here had taken a part in the rebellion. The same was the case with the territory of Methone and Pylus. The land of Methone was given to the Nauplians for a settlement, who, after their expulsion from Argolis by Damocratidas, king of Argos, on account of the support they had given to Sparta, took refuge among the Lacedæmonians. The Dryopians of Asine remained unmolested in the city they had built, and the district which had been assigned to them by the Spartans after the first Messenian war.[1]

Plato extols the extent and excellence of the lands which the Spartans possessed in Laconia and Messenia, and the pastures of Messenia on which they fed their flocks.[2] The size and produce of the plots assigned to the ruling order must, as we have seen, be estimated by the fact that the possessor was in a position to maintain himself and his family, and serve as a hoplite. Tyrtæus has already told us that the Helots were compelled to render half of the fruits of the land of their master's plots, on which they were settled, to the master (*supra*, p. 73). The proportion which the Helot had to pay could not be increased by the master (vol. i. p. 406). Hence we may conclude that this half of the produce must have been fixed at a definite amount, both for the plots assigned to the ruling order in the valley of the Eurotas, and for those assigned in Messenia after the first and second wars. We learn as a fact that the income of the plot produced for the master each year was 82 Æginetan, *i.e.* 123 Attic medimni[3] of barley, and a proportionate amount of soft fruits, *i.e.*

[1] Pausan. 4, 23, 4; 24, 4; 27, 8; 35, 2.

[2] Plato, *Alcib.* 1, p. 122.

[3] On Bœckh's calculation of the relation between the Æginetan and Attic standard [2 : 3]. [123 Attic medimni = 184½ bushels English.]

orchard-produce and wine.[1] This amount we may regard as the fixed half of the whole produce. We have seen that membership in the ruling order, and possession of the citizenship at Sparta, depended on association in a corporation, and a mess or dining-club. This association, in turn, depended on the payment of a certain contribution to the mess. The annual contribution for each member was 27 bushels of barley, 74 lbs. of cheese, 37 lbs. of fruit, 140 choës (103 gallons) of wine in Attic measure, and 120 Æginetan obols (21-24 shillings, English).[2] Of the produce of the plot in corn (123 medimni) and fruit there thus remained, after paying the contribution, enough to maintain the family and meet necessary expenses.[3] A plot which produced, in round numbers, 240 medimni (360 bushels English) of barley for the masters and serfs, and a corresponding amount of fruit and cheese, would require—in a soil of average excellence—an area of 24 *morgen* (about 15 acres) of arable land; about 6 *morgen* ($3\frac{3}{4}$ acres) might be added for orchards and vineyards, and for pasturage 7 *morgen* ($4\frac{1}{4}$ acres). Thirty-seven *morgen* (23 acres) are equal to 100 Greek *plethra*.[4] The number of Spartans capable of bearing arms is put at 8000, or 10,000 at the most.[5] The number of families can, therefore, have hardly been

[1] Plut. *Lyc.* 8.

[2] Dicæarchus in Athenæus, p. 141; Plut. *Lyc.* 12.

[3] For the hoplites Solon requires a nett produce of at least 150 medimni or metretæ; this amount is equal to the income from the plot of 120 medimni and a proportionate amount of fruit. The Attic plots in Lesbos produced about the same quantity; they were leased for 200 drachmæ (Thucyd. 3, 50), a sum which was also intended to support a hoplite. The Roman plot of 7 jugera (= 14 morgen) is far less than the property of the Zeugitæ in Solon. The Spartan plot is intended amply to support the occupier and his family.

[4] [The *plethron* is = 10,000 square feet.]

[5] Herod. 7, 234; Arist. *Pol.* 2, 6, 12 = 1270 *a* 37.

at any time more than 6000. But 6000 or 8000 plots of 100 *plethra* require only an area of 12 to 16 square miles (geographical).[1] Hence, even after providing all the families of the ruling order with lots of this size in Messenia, in addition to the lands assigned to the Dryopians and Nauplians, the community of Sparta had still abundant arable land and pasture which it could assign as domain to the king, and lease or otherwise employ, to obtain revenue for the purposes of the state.

[1] Max Duncker, *Ueber die Hufen der Spartiaten: Monatsb. Berl. Akad.*, 1881. [The amounts given by Dicæarchus and Plutarch, changed rather roughly into English equivalents, require from each Spartan a weekly contribution of 8 quartern loaves of barley-bread, one dozen bottles of wine, $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of cheese, $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. of fruit, and about 5d. in money.]

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